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MR. GLADSTONE AT GREENWICH.

MR. GLADSTONE'S speech at Greenwich has been applauded by some of the London papers in terms which ought to place them, in his estimation, almost on a level with the devoted provincial press. For what he said, and for what he omitted to say, especially for his absolute silence on foreign politics, he is praised with equally determined zeal. The mob which he addressed behaved as well as mobs behave in general, when they are not out of humour. Those who were within hearing naturally wished to make the most of a rare occasion by listening to a celebrated orator, and the over ring was but moderately active in its endeavours to spoil the pleasure of the luckier part of the multitude. The speech was perhaps good enough for the occasion, but the principal impression which it produces is a feeling of relief. There was scarcely anything mischievous or menacing in Mr. GLADSTONE'S statement of the policy of the Government, and it seems that, as far as his present intentions may be relied on, the English Constitution is not to be upset by official efforts during the ensuing Session. It is perhaps not altogether satisfactory that a Minister should be able to hint that the existence of the House of Lords depends on his own tolerance and discretion; nor is it easy to understand how the constitution of the House is to be reformed if the principle of hereditary succession is maintained. The introduction of a few life peers would probably result in failure, though the experiment would be favoured by Lord SALISBURY as well as by Mr. GLADSTONE; but it must be allowed that a fundamental change in the election of Scotch and Irish peers would be in the highest degree desirable. The apology for an hereditary peerage which is derived from the feelings and customs of ordinary Englishmen was perhaps more novel to the Greenwich audience than to political students; but Mr. SCOTT RUSSELL'S complacent boasts of the lords and barons who were supposed to have authorised his mysterious negotiation furnished an amusing and seasonable illustration of Mr. GLADSTONE'S reasoning. It is permissible, in business phrase, to take note of his defence of the House of Lords, and also of his manly and straightforward declaration that the propounders of the celebrated seven articles of Socialist legislation are quacks. At present he is determined to think thrice before he abolishes the House of Lords; but, unfortunately, Mr. GLADSTONE has the gift of thinking with dangerous rapidity. A dozen years ago he canvassed the county of Flint for a Conservative candidate, and three years ago he was an opponent of the Ballot. In the last Session he justified a vote against female suffrage by a speech which for the first time indicated an imminent conversion to the silliest form of modern charlatanism; and the general expectation is already fulfilled by the announcement that it is the duty of the Legislature to remove the social inequalities under which women labour. If the speech at Greenwich had been a sermon, or even a lecture to a society of Christian Young Men, it would have been natural, harmless, and useless to inquire how the growth of luxury and selfishness is to be checked, and how due honour is to be secured to labour; but a statesman who troubles himself in his public utterances with moral laws of imperfect obligation approaches far too closely to the domain of the quacks who are about to settle a million of Londoners in two hundred thousand rural homes. It is the fault of Mr. GLADSTONE, and not of his critics, that his speeches are expected with uneasiness, and that his language is subjected to vigilant examination. The restlessness which is betrayed in superfluous care for the political rights of women, and in irrelevant censures of luxury and selfishness, renders quiet confidence impossible.

The statement that the Ministers have discovered a mode of dealing with the Contagious Diseases Act which will be satisfactory to the crowd assembled on Blackheath excites a fear that the proposal will be highly unsatisfactory to those classes which prefer beneficent legislation to fanatical sentimentality.

In an odd digression Mr. GLADSTONE informed the Greenwich electors that no Liberal Government before his own had kept a large majority together for three successive years. The audience would, he said, perhaps be surprised at his statement; and they would have been much more surprised if they had been familiar with the political history of the last forty years. From Lord GREY'S Ministry Mr. GLADSTONE took a single step to the general election of 1857, in which Lord PALMERSTON scattered to the winds a formidable coalition formed by Lord DERBY and Mr. DISSELHOUT with Lord JOHN RUSSELL, Mr. CORBEN, Mr. BRIGHT, and Mr. GLADSTONE himself. It is true that a year later Lord PALMERSTON was driven from office by a renewal of the same coalition; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer of 1859 might have been expected to remember that the Liberal party which he then for the first time deliberately joined remained in power until Lord PALMERSTON'S death in 1865. Lord JOHN RUSSELL had previously presided over a Liberal Government with a large majority from 1846 to 1852; but of that Administration Mr. GLADSTONE was not a member. The general election of 1865, held during Lord PALMERSTON'S lifetime, produced a Liberal majority of sixty or seventy members, which in ten months was squandered away or disorganized by the management of Lord RUSSELL and Mr. GLADSTONE. Nevertheless it is true that the present Government can afford with comparative impunity to irritate and dissatisfy the House of Commons. Mr. GLADSTONE has far less hold than Sir ROBERT PEEL or Lord PALMERSTON on the confidence and goodwill of his Parliamentary supporters; but as long as he is popular out of doors he has the means of controlling discontented adherents by threatening them with the displeasure of their constituencies. In some places the electors seem to have lately wavered in their allegiance; but Mr. GLADSTONE is justified in his belief that his great majority is not yet seriously impaired. The borough constituencies have no distaste for impulsive policy, and they watch with a pleased interest for revelations of which the bare possibility inspires thoughtful and patriotic politicians with terror. When former Ministers made public speeches, the interest which was aroused by their reputation for eloquence or for humour was not disturbed by the fear that they might create a sensation by denouncing some of the fundamental institutions of the country. When Mr. GLADSTONE appears on the hustings, it is well if no more pernicious innovation is proposed than the concession of political rights to the non-political sex, or even than the relaxation of securities against disease.

In former times it would have been thought a defect in a statesman to be incapable of interesting himself in foreign affairs; nor would it have been deemed desirable that he should content himself with the smallest amount of military efficiency. It is evident that Mr. GLADSTONE regards the question of purchase, which he described in the House of Commons as the sole or principal object of the Army Organization Bill, exclusively from a political, or rather from an electioneering, point of view. Mr. CARDWELL vindicated his proposal by the forcible argument that purchase offered formidable obstacles to every plan for remodelling the military system. To Mr. GLADSTONE the abolition of the practice appears only an opportunity of "assailing class interest in its favourite stronghold." He has persuaded himself that the officers who have purchased their commissions are aristocrats or millionaires, and he boasts that his Government has suppressed an imaginary monopoly. It seems that the foreign officers who at-

tended the autumn manœuvres have furnished their respective Governments with materials for complimentary mention of the officers and soldiers engaged. It was not necessary for them to remark that the Aldershot army would have been barely numerous enough to form a couple of divisions in a great Continental or American campaign. Of the possibility that an English army may be required for active service Mr. GLADSTONE is obstinately and blindly incredulous. He declared at Greenwich that he regarded the promoters of panic with less toleration than if they had been disseminating small-pox or cattle-plague; nor indeed is it certain that the repression of disease is in his estimation a paramount duty. The warnings which he condemns as incitements to panic were inspired by an earnest regard for the national welfare; and even when they may have been exaggerated, they tended to caution rather than to rashness. Not much more than a year has passed since the Ministers were compelled by public and Parliamentary opinion to pledge the country to resist any attack on the independence of Belgium. Mr. GLADSTONE therefore is, perhaps against his will, committed to the proposition that war might, in a certain contingency, have become unavoidable; yet he thinks that it would be less criminal to perpetrate the monstrous atrocity of spreading a contagious disease than to suggest that foreign Powers may perhaps entertain designs incompatible with peace. It would be a curious inquiry whether Mr. GLADSTONE has taken the trouble to read the documents which have been published by Prince BISMARCK in exposure of Count BENEDETTI's remarkable fictions. It is conclusively proved that within four or five years a potentate who professed to be the intimate ally of England proposed to Prussia an offensive and defensive alliance, for the purpose of facilitating the unprovoked seizure of Belgium. Mr. GLADSTONE therefore thinks either that the disclosure is fabulous, or that the obligations which, at the instance of Parliament, he recently consented to renew were not binding. Those who are anxious for peace and for national honour, unlike the PRIME MINISTER, take into account changes of circumstances and political probabilities. There is no present risk of a rupture with any country, and consequently there is no panic; but it is absurd to doubt that complications will from time to time recur. When the occasion arises the most efficient promoters of peace will have been those who have been least inclined to rely on the pacific tendencies of nations and Governments. When enthusiasm for Mr. GLADSTONE's eloquence has subsided, and when gratitude for his forbearance in confining himself for the most part to commonplaces has ceased to be tinged with surprise, the prevalent feeling of his judicious admirers will be a hope that he may find it unnecessary to make another speech before the inevitable opening of the Session.

PRINCE BISMARCK ON THE EVACUATION TREATY.

EVERYTHING that Prince BISMARCK says and writes is interesting, not only for what he expresses, but for the manner in which he expresses it. He is to all appearance candour itself, and seems to let all the world see down to the lowest depths of his policy. His first task on the meeting of the Reichstag has been to explain and defend the course he has taken in the recent negotiations with France, and he has discharged this duty with his usual frankness and fulness of language. France has been congratulating itself on the terms which M. POUYER-QUERTIER was able to obtain at Berlin, and Prince BISMARCK had to show that, if the French were pleased with the bargain, the Germans might be equally so. In order to show this, he gave an outline of the general policy which Germany ought to adopt in regard to France; and he laid down as a leading maxim that Germany is interested in seeing France recover as quickly as possible a position of internal security and comfort. Up to a certain point this is a maxim which no German thinks of disputing. France has still to pay Germany an enormous sum of money, and every creditor wishes that his debtor should thrive enough to be able to pay what he owes. The six departments evacuated under the convention of October will be much more likely to regain something of their former prosperity now that they are free from the invader than they would have been if German soldiers had been present to discourage and irritate the inhabitants of their principal towns. This is a direct increase to the resources, and therefore to the paying power, of France, and the whole country will naturally set itself much more heartily, now that the area of foreign occupation is diminished, to the task of getting money to pay the German

claims. But Prince BISMARCK goes further than this. He finds that many of the leading French journals declare that the new arrangements which have been made will tend to the consolidation of the power of the existing French Government, and therefore to the increased assurance of internal tranquillity in France. Prince BISMARCK is very glad to learn this, for he does not think that Germany has any business to make France weak and its Government insecure, except so far as interference in that direction might be necessary to ensure the execution of the articles of peace. To leave France alone, and to let her get as rich and settled and strong as she can, but to keep an eye on her so that she shall not in any way damage Germany, is the policy which Prince BISMARCK presses on the acceptance of his countrymen. There is not a shade of generosity in this policy; there is nothing of pity or kindly sentiment in it; it is an expression of nothing but rough sense and prudence. Prince BISMARCK never affects to think that kindness or fair words will heal such wounds as Germany has inflicted on France. If France wishes for another war, she must have it; but if war is to be averted, Prince BISMARCK believes and avows that it will be averted simply by France being persuaded that the risk she would run would be too great. But whereas in old days France tried to keep Germany weak by perpetually interfering in German affairs, Germany will at least abstain now from retaliating. France, provided she pays what she owes, may go on without the smallest hindrance from Germany in her own way. It is not by dividing France or meddling in her revolutions that Germany will strive to hold its own against her. It is by using Metz and Strasbourg, by having a great army kept in the highest state of discipline, by sound finance, and by a diplomacy directed to prevent France from finding a great ally, that Germany will endeavour to keep France quiet. Perhaps most Frenchmen would prefer this frank declaration of the intentions and expectations of Germany to any overtures of reconciliation which a more genial politician than Prince BISMARCK might have been tempted to shadow forth.

When he addressed himself to the details of the recent convention, Prince BISMARCK had little difficulty in proving that he had known how to take care of the interests confided to him. He had to justify the evacuation of six departments before the payment of the money for which they were held as security. His arguments were as follows:—In the first place, it is a great relief to Germany to be saved the necessity of keeping soldiers away from home so long. Prince BISMARCK stated that a question asked in the Reichstag a day or two previously as to the recall of the reserve forces had caused him some uneasiness, as he did not think it advisable to proclaim to "our enemies"—as, with a total absence of affectation, he calls the French—and other countries what a load the occupation has placed on German shoulders. As neither the French nor any one else would have heard of the question unless Prince BISMARCK had chosen to refer to it, he must have thought it more important that the attention of Germany should be called to the greatness of this burden than that the attention of other countries should not be called to it. In the next place, the evacuated departments are still to be retained to all practical intents in the grasp of Germany. Not a French soldier, except for the purposes of police, is to be allowed to enter them until the third half-milliard is paid, and the position of the Germans while they retain Verdun, Toul, and Belfort is so enormously strong that there is no danger of this provision being broken. The departments are, in fact, just as much held as security as if they were occupied, while the Germans have gained a great advantage in being freed from the burden of providing an occupying force. Germany was the clear gainer by the transaction; but this was not enough for Prince BISMARCK. It occurred to him that France might be made to pay for letting Germany gain this advantage, and he therefore successfully insisted that, by an anticipation of the payment of the third half-milliard, Germany should at once make an honest penny, and ensure punctuality on the part of her debtor. Prince BISMARCK had no difficulty in persuading his audience that he had been as sharp in making the bargain as they could have desired.

The convention also provided for the admission of the products of Alsace and Lorraine at reduced duties into France for a year. Prince BISMARCK stated that he had been asked by imprudent persons to insist that the newly acquired provinces should have this commercial advantage during no less a term than six years, which shows that some of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine have very high notions of what their great friend can do for them, and what France might be made to endure to their profit. The CHANCELLOR scouted this suggestion as preposterous, and came to the con-

clusion that a year and a half was the right limit of time to ask for. Now he has consented to give up six months of this period; the French Government, on the other hand, giving up the counter-demand which the Assembly had compelled M. THIERS to make, that French goods should be admitted at a corresponding reduction of duties into Alsace and Lorraine during the period fixed. To this Prince BISMARCK strongly objected, on the ground that he would have to establish an inner line of Customs in order to prevent the French goods thus advantageously treated from passing into Germany. He was very glad to get rid of this counter-demand by consenting to shorten the time of exportation from Alsace and Lorraine on terms of exceptional advantage by six months. This is the only concession he has made worth speaking of, and the members of the Reichstag would naturally notice that all he had done was to limit a special benefit devised for the new provinces in which the rest of Germany did not participate. It is true that he had also given up some paltry slices of territory to France, but the minute care he exercises on behalf of his country had not failed him there. He is never above attending to the smallest details, and like the familiar Jew of story-books, is equally at home whether he is selling seven oranges for sixpence or arranging for a loan of millions sterling. He has given up two parishes because they were easily accessible only from the French side; but those parishes had one valuable thing in them—and only one—a forest; so he has excepted the forest from the cession, and the parishes are to belong to France, but the woods to Germany. At another place the frontier line was so drawn as to oblige the inhabitants of a petty place, in travelling to the quarter with which all their dealings lie to go from Germany into France. Prince BISMARCK has allowed them to be French; but he has made the French Government undertake to build a new station at the point where the railway will become German. This obligation imposed on a great Power like France to build a trumpery station on German soil is a curious example of what the tempers of French statesmen have now to endure, and of the class of affairs to which Prince BISMARCK finds time to give his mind. It may be observed, however, that this was a stroke of business conceived exactly in the vein of German commerce, which is pushing its way over the world by attending to sixteenths where other nations only attend to eighths per cent., and it was certain, therefore, to be highly relished and approved by a German audience.

THE ARMY PROMOTION WARRANT.

WHATEVER differences of opinion may have existed as to the necessity of abolishing purchase in the army, at a cost which no one has yet attempted to estimate with any approach to certainty, the warmest advocates of the anomalous system which so long prevailed will join in the wish that the method to be substituted may tend to improve the quality of military service. Whether it will do so, and to what extent, depends very much more on the manner in which the heads of the army may administer the new powers committed to them than on the mere words of any official code of regulations. The recent Warrant on Promotion testifies on the face of it to the difficulty of the task which has to be performed. The whole Long Vacation has not sufficed to enable Mr. CARDWELL to solve all the thorny questions with which it is his fate to grapple, and which, if he deserves the very warm encomiums which Mr. GLADSTONE thinks that he stands in need of, ought not to give him an overwhelming amount of trouble. Among all the curiosities of our military system, the anomaly of anomalies was perhaps to be found in the peculiar privileges of the Household Brigade, and with this Mr. CARDWELL has not yet summoned up courage to deal. "Questions," we are told, "affecting the Household Cavalry and Foot Guards are under the consideration of HER MAJESTY'S Government, and the promotions which have heretofore carried superior army rank are for the time being to be suspended." The new theory implied, if not asserted, in the Army Regulation Bill of last Session certainly involves the principle that military rank shall be as nearly as may be proportionate to military aptitude. If one man is called a lieutenant-colonel, while another passes only as a captain, the former ought, as a rule, to have exhibited the capacity for command in a higher degree than the latter; and almost the only question which Mr. CARDWELL can logically put to himself, in framing his promised regulations for the Household troops, will be, not whether captains in the Guards have paid more money for their commissions than captains in the Line, but whether as a rule they must be assumed

to be as fit to handle a battalion as a captain in a marching regiment is to command his company. Any additional expenditure to which they may have been put will be properly compensated by a larger payment on retirement, but (with a due regard of course to vested rank as well as to vested pecuniary interest) no man in future can be placed above his fellows on any other ground than presumed superiority in military skill and experience. These considerations seem to supply the means of dealing with the case of the Guards no less than with the rest of the army, and the fact that hesitation and delay have taken the place of just and considerate decision on this subject fore-shadows the still more serious obstacles which will permanently stand in the way of the practical application of the ambitious theory on which the Government reforms are based. Promotion for merit is as pretty a phrase as could be desired by an army reformer; but to secure it without favour will need a degree of stoical virtue in the administrators of the new system which we all hope to witness, but which will not necessarily flow from the phrases of the best Royal Warrant that could be framed. To the extent of the ground which it covers, the new Warrant is in words entirely consistent with the principles on which the Government have professed to base the reorganization of the army; but it remains to be proved whether the practice will accord with the theory any better than it did when over-regulation payments were officially denounced as criminal; and whether, even if ever so purely administered, the new regulations will not in the end produce that stagnation in promotion which is so mischievous in non-purchase corps.

Passing by for the moment the rules laid down for first commissions, the essence of the new regulations is that, with the exception of death vacancies, and others not caused by voluntary retirement (in which seniority is allowed to prevail) all promotion is to be governed by the principle of selection. The Commander-in-Chief is assumed to be informed of the merits of every officer in the service by a system of official reports, which will be very different from any official reports which the world has yet seen if they give anything like the information which is expected from them. Fortified by this knowledge, and placed above the temptation of political (if not of social) bias, the Commander-in-Chief for the time being will put the squarest men into the squarest holes, and will dismiss without compunction all those shapeless creatures who won't fit any place, and who do creep into the army as into all other professions nobody knows how and nobody asks whence. This ideal picture must of course be subjected to many modifications before it can be regarded as a representation of what is likely or even possible to occur in practice. A thousand influences, good as well as bad, will militate against it. A little too much good-nature or ill-nature—and the former much more often than the latter—will make many of the official reports as valueless as the testimonials of a candidate or the character of a servant; and experience in like cases teaches us to attach comparatively little importance to the materials which are intended to guide the virtually irresponsible action of the Commander-in-Chief. The occupant for the time being of this high position must be more or less than human to discharge his duties, we do not say to the satisfaction of others, but even to his own. He will soon learn to distrust the reports, sometimes over-kind, occasionally spiteful, and almost always vague, with which his pigeon-holes will overflow. Doubting the possibility of finding a man certain to be the best fitted to fill a vacant post, he will be driven to the necessity of choosing among thousands, of whom he personally knows the qualities of very few. He will be driven to one of two courses. Either he will select some one whom he happens to know as an able officer, without regard to the possible superiority of hundreds whom he does not know; or else, moved by the consideration that the officer next in order of regimental seniority will feel deeply the disappointment of having a stranger brought in over his head, he will give the promotion according to the rule of seniority in every case where absolute incapacity cannot be asserted. A self-confident man, or one easily influenced by his associates or subordinates, would probably take the former course, and unwittingly do great injustice. A kindly man, anxious above all things to wrong no one, would follow the other plan, and in two or three years would reduce promotion by selection to the simple rule of seniority. Seniority, as we all know, means stagnation; but the revival of the rule of seniority under the present Warrant would mean much more than this—nothing less, in short, than the restoration, in one shape or another, of the purchase system which it has cost so much to

kill. The instant it is known, with any approach to high probability, how an expected vacancy is likely to be filled, it becomes the interest of those who will gain a step by it to promote the vacancy by all inducements in their power. No law has been found stringent enough in the past to prevent such inducements taking the form of a money payment, either direct from the next in seniority, or by a purse made up among the whole body of junior officers. Declarations on honour, like those which signally failed to prevent over-regulation prices, are once more to be exacted; but Mr. CARDWELL must be a sanguine man if he thinks that they will be more effectual in the future than the past; and, curiously enough, the forms are so worded as not literally to cover the most probable shape in which purchase would reappear. The only real safeguard would be found in a determination to make promotion in order of seniority rather the exception than the rule; and it will be very hard to do this when the officer next in regimental rank has shown a fair amount of capacity. And yet it must be done if the Army Reform of 1871 is not to prove a costly fiasco.

The Warrant, which, in words, and in words only, attempts to meet this formidable difficulty, leaves the still greater difficulty of stagnation wholly untouched. For a time probably the retirements stimulated by the compensation payable under the Act of last Session will maintain the flow of promotion at something like its old rate; but in the end, when the old officers have been worked out, no one will retire unless in disgust and despair of advancement. Then the scheme of retirement which the Government so naturally shrank from forecasting will become a necessity, and the compensations to old purchase officers will become a permanent burden in the shape of premiums on resignation. These are among the natural and, indeed, to some extent inevitable, accompaniments of the new organization of our army. They may, and let us hope they will, be mitigated by the exercise of a larger amount of wisdom, firmness, and impartiality than average human nature is accustomed to supply; and if, in spite of all drawbacks, merit gets a little more chance of speedy promotion than it has hitherto enjoyed, the net result, though far short of what enthusiastic reformers have fancied, may possibly be to turn a good army into a better army, and especially to create a higher standard of professional acquirement than has commonly prevailed under the anomalous and indefensible system which, with all its faults, seldom failed to produce officers who knew how to lead their men to victory.

THE AUSTRIAN ENTANGLEMENT.

THERE was little doubt that the next step in the confused Austrian struggle would be a concession on the part of the EMPEROR to the protests of the Imperial CHANCELLOR and the Hungarian PREMIER. It would have been almost impossible to fill the place of Count BEUST, whose retirement would have involved the virtual dissolution of the alliance or understanding which has been established with Germany. Count ANDRASSY could not have been dismissed or forced to resign without the risk of excitement and discontent in Hungary; and, as the theory and practice of constitutional government are better understood in the Kingdom than in the Western part of the Empire, it would have been necessary to select any Minister who might have been appointed from the party which is already in power. Count HOHENWART, although he seems to have possessed the EMPEROR'S confidence, was less indispensable than his opponents. Before his recent accession to office he was almost unknown as a statesman, and his colleagues are severally and collectively obscure. The HOHENWART Cabinet was only distinguished by a shade of opinion from the Government of Count POTOCKI. Both sets of Ministers were opposed to the Constitution of 1867, which was supposed to give undue preponderance to the Germans; and when HOHENWART succeeded POTOCKI, it was understood that the attempt to conciliate the Czechs and the other Separatists would not be abandoned. Since that time it is possible that, as a Pole, Count POTOCKI may, like many of his countrymen, have modified his opinions. Although the upper and middle classes in Galicia may be jealous of German predominance, their primary object must always be to discountenance Russian intrigue, which is especially dangerous when it is applied to the Ruthenian population of the province. It may have seemed to Polish politicians expedient to detach the Czechs of Bohemia from their Russian connexion by satisfying their aspirations within the Austrian Empire; but recent events seem to have convinced the Poles that it is for

their interest to prevent the Empire from dissolving itself into a loose Federation which would be regarded with unfriendly feelings by Germany on one side and by Hungary on the other. Whether Count POTOCKI and his late colleagues have abandoned the policy which they maintained during their tenure of office is at present unknown. The defeat of the Czech party has been immediately followed by an outburst of treasonable declamation. The Bohemian papers ostentatiously call attention to the visit which the Princes of Servia and Roumania have lately paid to the Emperor of RUSSIA in the Crimea. The reception of the Princes is, according to one journal, a formal recognition of the Slavonic idea, in the same sense in which the Italian idea was adopted by the House of SAVOY and the German idea by the House of HOHENZOLLERN. If the Bohemian patriots had been trained in Ireland they could not have preached the doctrine of Home Rule with more seditious bluster.

There is reason to fear that the EMPEROR has in the late transactions been neither prudent nor wholly impartial. It is generally believed that Count HOHENWART encouraged the pretensions of the Czech leaders by assurances that their demands were not unacceptable to the Court. During the discussion the EMPEROR seems to have urged Count BEUST and Count ANDRASSY to make all possible concessions, though he deserves the credit of having finally yielded to their just remonstrances. The reasons which induce a portion of the Imperial family to use their influence in favour of Bohemian independence have no connexion with national prejudices. The traditions of the House of HAPSBURG are identified with the history of Germany, although some centuries have elapsed since the Austrian Archdukes acquired by successive marriages the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary. The popular title of Arch-House is still attached by German adherents to the descendants of RUDOLF and of MARIA THERESA; and only a few years have passed since the present Emperor of AUSTRIA hoped to resume the German Crown by the suffrage of the princes assembled at Frankfort. The urgency which has of late perhaps coincided with his own inclinations arises not from sympathy with Bohemia, but from deference to Rome. The high aristocracy, who, whatever may be their origin, have long since been thoroughly Germanized, have nevertheless allied themselves with the clergy, and with the ladies of the Court, in opposition to the middle classes and to the Liberal party. To Western politicians it may appear strange that the advocates of a close alliance between Vienna and Berlin should be denounced as promoters of innovation; but Austria has always been more aristocratic than Prussia, and the controversy has rather an ecclesiastical than a political character. The Ultramontanists have with questionable prudence, and yet by an intelligible instinct, assumed an attitude of opposition to the new German Empire, and to the national unity which it represents; and the vigorous statesman who has founded the Empire has not hesitated to accept their challenge. The Emperor WILLIAM, to whom only a year ago the hopes of the Vatican were directed, is now regarded as the most formidable antagonist of the Holy See; and it is thought that the interest of the Church will be best consulted by the predominance in the Austrian dominions of comparatively docile Slavonic races. The higher nobility on their part object to modern military reforms, and especially to the interference of Parliamentary Ministers with the army; and it is not surprising that a Prince who ascended the throne as an absolute and orthodox ruler should occasionally revert to the associations of his earlier years.

If the immediate risk of an alienation of the German subjects of Austria has been averted by the decision of the EMPEROR, nothing has been done to terminate the controversy with the Slavonic promoters of Home Rule and of the dissolution of the Empire. The Bohemian Diet still affects to treat on equal terms with the Austrian and Hungarian Governments; and in many of the provinces the German Deputies have retired from Assemblies in which they form a hopeless minority. It is supposed that the Council of the Realm will be controlled by the Slavonic members; and its competence to modify the Constitution will be resolutely denied by the united German population. In a deep-rooted antagonism between distinct or hostile races arguments from law or from expediency are of little avail; and the Czechs and their allies may easily find a plausible apology for their pertinacious maintenance of their claims. Their leaders will contend that the Hungarian Minister transcended his functions in interfering with the policy of the Western part of the Empire, and that the CHANCELLOR of the Monarchy is expressly debarred by the terms of his appointment from all

share in the conduct of internal affairs. If it is true that the assurances given by Count HOHENWART were personally authorised by the EMPEROR, it will be invidious to disavow positive pledges on the ground that they may have been unconstitutional. It is obvious that, as the chief adviser of his Sovereign, Count BEUST was entitled and bound to protest against measures which were as inconsistent with a sound foreign policy as with domestic tranquillity. The Bohemian Diet had, by its injudicious notice of the compact with Hungary, justified by anticipation the intervention of Count ANDRASSY, nor was it possible that a Hungarian Minister should forget that the majority of the subjects of the Hungarian Crown are Slavonic in extraction and language. When so many ostensible reasons may be advanced on one side and on the other, there is serious ground to apprehend that the contest must ultimately be decided by force.

The appointment of Baron KELLERBERG to form a Ministry on the basis of the maintenance of the present Constitution of the Empire is probably consistent with a hope that some admissible compromise may still be devised; but between an Imperial and a Federal system a collision must sooner or later occur. A wise statesman in the place of the EMPEROR would satisfy himself that, after making every concession of form to satisfy the susceptibilities of his Slavonic subjects, he will be compelled finally to reject their substantial demands. The independence of the Bohemian Crown, instead of terminating the dispute, would only aggravate the discontent of a dozen provinces; nor is there any reason to believe that local Diets with enlarged functions would be less disposed than at present to encroach on the rights of an Imperial Parliament. A still more conclusive objection to Home Rule is the existence in Bohemia itself of a German element to the extent of more than one-third of the population, forming the bulk of the wealthy and educated classes. An Emperor of Austria who should expect to govern the country by the aid of the numerical majority might prudently take warning by the fate of JAMES II., who occupied a similar position in Ireland. Not even the religious fanaticism of the last STUART King, nor his attempts to strain his prerogative, alienated his English subjects so thoroughly as his alliance with the Irish enemies of England. The Germans in Bohemia are proportionately more numerous and more powerful than the Irish Protestants of the seventeenth century, and they also have at hand a neighbouring and formidable ally. Reliance on the support of the clergy and of Rome will lead to inevitable disappointment. It is hopeless to float off a stranded vessel on an ebbing tide. Since the accession of the present POPE, Spain, Italy, Bavaria, and Austria itself have emancipated themselves from ecclesiastical control; and the causes through which the influence of Rome may yet linger in the remoter parts of Europe are at the same time sources of weakness. It is more likely that Parliamentary government will succumb for a time in Austria than that Bohemia will become an independent Slavonic State.

DISCONTENTED LIBERALS.

MR. FAWCETT has contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* an article in which he sets forth the reasons why he and other Liberals who think with him are discontented with the Government. As he very truly says, if this discontent exists it is most desirable that the precise reasons on which it is founded should be clearly stated, so that the Government, if it is in fault, may know how to amend its ways. With much that Mr. FAWCETT says we entirely agree. There were last Session many just causes of dissatisfaction with the policy and conduct of the Government; and although during the Recess many members of the Cabinet have been roaming about, praising themselves, and holding themselves out as calumniated men and free from all reproach, they have uniformly taken care to ignore the real charges made against them. It is not to be wondered at that this air of injured merit on the part of Ministers who shirk the issues on which their merit is questioned should excite the indignation and contempt of those who, like Mr. FAWCETT, are of a fervent spirit, have strongly defined principles, and have nothing to do with the practical difficulties of governing the country. Whether Mr. GLADSTONE was right in using the Prerogative to sweep away purchase, and whether he was justified in calling on the Lords to discuss the Ballot Bill in August, are matters which we will assume to be fairly open to argument. But the main causes of just dissatisfaction are beyond dispute; and although Mr. FAWCETT dwells on them with force and clearness, they are familiar to every one.

The chief of these causes are, first, that the Government brought forward Bills on subjects of the highest importance without having taken the trouble to prepare them, or to consider the difficulties they presented; secondly, that the Government forced on the House, by threats of a dissolution, a Budget framed on principles which the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER himself had a few days previously declared to be iniquitous; and, thirdly, that they encountered the proposal to treat Trinity College, Dublin, as Oxford and Cambridge had been treated, not with a frank exposition of policy, but with paltry shifts and evasions. Errors such as these naturally excite alarm and distrust in that portion of the Liberal party which has any claim to independence; and the more strongly they insist on the magnitude of these errors, the more likely are they to benefit their party by inducing the Ministry to be more careful, juster, and more straightforward for the future.

But when we pass to some of the more general and vague causes of complaint which Mr. FAWCETT alleges, we begin to differ from him. His two great grievances are that the Non-conformists have not had their way in regard to the Education Bill, and that the Ministry are not sufficiently ahead of public opinion in proposing great measures of social reform. He has also a third, but minor grievance, which is specially his own—namely, that the Ministry do not devote enough of the time of Cabinet Councils to discussing the affairs of India. Over this last grievance we may pass lightly, as we do not attach any importance to it whatever. The interests we have in India are enormous, but until one of those rare occasions arises when a cardinal point of policy can be satisfactorily settled in England by English politicians not minutely acquainted with Indian affairs, it is infinitely better that the work of governing India should not be interrupted by the desultory discussions of busy statesmen who have no knowledge of the facts on which they are supposed to decide, and have no definite propositions before them. Questions of home government would be burked altogether if they had not only to be taken into and out of the consideration of Mr. BRUCE, but had to stand over until the Cabinet had tired itself with talking about all the possible causes of possible discontent in India. But this leads us naturally to the main objection to what Mr. FAWCETT urges in regard to his two main grievances. He does not appreciate the real position which a Government does occupy and must occupy in the country. It could not exist, and, we think, ought not to exist, for a month, if it merely endeavoured to give expression to extreme views, and to propose novelties to the country. Mr. FAWCETT considers it a great reproach to English statesmen that they are not ahead of public opinion. We do not think it any reproach at all, and are only very much pleased when we do not find them behind it. Mr. GLADSTONE, in disestablishing the Irish Church in 1869, showed himself, in Mr. FAWCETT's opinion, thirty years behind a Radical shoemaker who in 1839 had arrived at the conclusion that the Irish Church ought to be disestablished. It is very easy for a Radical shoemaker to come to any conclusion he pleases; but a statesman is a person who has not only to come to a theoretical conclusion, but to get a thing done in real life; and Mr. GLADSTONE disestablished the Irish Church at the very earliest moment that England was prepared that it should be disestablished. He led the opinion of the country as soon as it was possible to lead it, and he carried his Bill partly by his own energy and determination, but much more because the country had received, from causes that had been long at work, an impulse towards Liberal doctrines which showed itself in a sudden and very vigorous manner. In order to keep up with Radical shoemakers a Prime Minister would have to give in his adherence to a variety of crude crotchets untested by experience and discussion, and to go out of office if the country did not welcome them before it had so much as heard of them, or understood what they meant. It is most important to hold clear views on this point. Far from its being a recommendation in a Minister, we consider it a positive fault in him that he should express sudden fancies for speculative reforms of which he does not trouble himself to consider the import. What he has to do is to consider what subjects are ripe for legislation, and to bring in well-considered measures, carrying out the best plans for dealing with them that he can frame. Mr. FAWCETT entirely ignores one cause of dissatisfaction with the PRIME MINISTER, which is, we think, a very just one, and that is, that Mr. GLADSTONE is perpetually turning his attention, and that of others, away from the work before him to vast and vague schemes for the general alteration of everything. Possibly this would be a virtue in Mr. FAWCETT's eyes, and it certainly seems to place Mr. GLADSTONE on something of a

level with a Radical shoemaker. But we do not wish him to get so high. We prefer to see him keep to his own sphere. In that sphere he has merits of the highest kind, and has done great services to the country. But those who acknowledge this most readily may consistently lament that he should last Session have so often offered the spectacle of himself and his colleagues falling into palpable mistakes through sheer obstinacy and want of care.

It is also one of Mr. FAWCETT's primary mistakes to think that the government of the country can be carried on in accordance with the wishes of a violent minority. He dilates on the wrongs the Nonconformists have to endure, and accuses the Ministry of having been false to the pledges they gave as to what their Education Bill should be. We do not at present wish to discuss the question whether the Bill is a good Bill, or whether a better Bill could have been passed. The Nonconformists are angry now, and think that others have made a better thing out of the Act than they are likely to do. They therefore wish to get the Act altered, and announce that, unless it is altered to suit them, they will not support the Ministry at the next election. Mr. FAWCETT evidently thinks they are right in doing so, and he relies perhaps more on the threats of the Nonconformists than on his own arguments to induce the Ministry to act as he wishes. One of the worst tendencies of democracy is, however, we think, manifested by declarations of this kind. So long as the business of the country is conducted by comparatively a few people, the policy of one part of the governing classes is looked at as a whole, contrasted with the whole presented by the policy of another part of the governing classes. But when political power is in the hands of a great number of persons educated enough to criticize details and to fasten on special points, but not educated enough to consider how a nation is to be governed, there is a constant inclination to single out one set of opinions on what is only one subject of real political interest among many, and to attend to nothing else. Nothing could more fatally dwarf the mind of a people, and vulgarize and lower it. A Nonconformist who declines to support a Government because he cannot get a section of the Education Act altered is doing by no means a noble thing, although it is only fair to add that he may be taking the best way to get what he wants. But this is only saying that Governments in their turn often fall below a proper standard, and yield to the manoeuvres of cliques and to menaces what they deny to mere argument. If the Government honestly think the Nonconformists are wrong, they may still buy their electioneering support at an ignominious cost; but they would act much more honourably and much better for their permanent reputation if they preferred to lose power rather than to concede what in their opinion ought not to be conceded. There is no ending to this submission to cliques when it is once begun. A Minister leads a life not worth having if, before he can do what he thinks best for the nation, he has to be thinking of how he will ultimately stand with the publicans, or the teetotallers, or the Ultramontanes, or the people who publish the nasty pamphlets. It is of course true that a Minister should only propose what he has a reasonable hope of carrying. It is no good proposing a Licensing Bill if the publicans can throw it out, for that they should have such a power would show that public opinion was not ready for legislation on the question. But if a Minister can carry what he thinks right, he ought not to be affected by the threat that those whom he disappoints will try to have their revenge on him when they get a chance.

FRANCE.

AFFAIRS have so settled down in France that a speech from M. THIERS to a Departmental Council has become something of an event. Frenchmen in general steadily refuse to regard the PRESIDENT of the Republic in the light of a constitutional sovereign ruling through responsible advisers. M. THIERS is his own Prime Minister, and the country looks to him, and to him only, for indications of the policy of the Government. A statesman more thoroughly imbued with constitutional traditions might have some difficulty in working a State system of so anomalous a character. But M. THIERS takes kindly to his task. The occasional contradictions incident to his position do not seem to trouble him. He takes part in the enactment of a law to give increased importance to the Departmental Councils one day, and on the next snubs them because they have presumed to make use of their supposed powers. Under his rule Frenchmen enjoy entire liberty of speech and action, subject only to the trifling qualification

that they must speak and act as M. THIERS likes. His opponents find no fault with this use of authority, because they are all too much engaged in scheming how to exercise similar authority themselves. Either by accident or design, no official version has been published of M. THIERS's address to the Council of the Department of the Seine and Oise, and, as a consequence of this omission and of the inaptitude of French newspapers for the work of reporting, two different versions of his speech have been in circulation. M. THIERS has not thought it necessary to determine which of them is correct, except in one particular. According to one report he is made to say that, the struggle with the Commune being over, the hour for clemency had come. The *Journal Officiel* has been instructed to say that the word "clemency" is wrongly attributed to the PRESIDENT. The word really used by him was "moderation." The reason given for this correction is, that had he spoken of clemency, he would have been arrogating to himself the function of the Committee of Pardons. A truer reason probably is, that though the Conservative majority are willing to let M. THIERS have his way in everything else, they are not willing to see any considerable fraction of the 30,000 Communist prisoners escape scot free. They are altogether at a loss how to try them, and are not quite prepared to punish them without trial. But they are still less prepared to grant a general amnesty; and if the PRESIDENT had given a promise to be merciful, it might possibly have been interpreted in that sense. M. THIERS knows with whom he has to deal, and he has lost no time in assuring them that he did not go beyond the bounds of a safe commonplace.

That France needs order would seem a fact too obvious to need repeating, were it not that M. THIERS, who must be supposed to be a judge of the kind of teaching which is most profitable for his countrymen, is never tired of repeating it. At present, to all appearances, there is no one anxious to disturb order who is not for a time incapacitated from carrying out his wish. The Communists are in gaol or at the hulks, and the chief thought with almost every other section of Frenchmen is how to keep things precisely as they are. No doubt this desire of inaction is caused by the difficulty of ascertaining which party would be in the ascendant, supposing things were different. The majority in the National Assembly insisted on voting itself Constituent; but there is no reason to suppose that it has any present intention of exercising the powers which it was so bent upon claiming. M. GAMBETTA dwells on the political character of the departmental elections, but he is careful to append an announcement that he does not propose to turn them to any political account. In spite of his refusal to allow the Assembly any alternative save that of resignation or usurpation, it may be doubted whether he is really desirous of submitting to the ordeal of a general election. M. THIERS stands almost alone among French politicians in his recognition of the fact on which we have so often insisted, that the existing Government is provisional by necessity as well as by choice. Every other leader of opinion acquiesces in the present state of things, because he does not feel sure that an immediate change would make for the advantage of the particular party whose interests he has at heart. M. THIERS acquiesces in it because he sees that for the present any real change is impossible. I am charged, he says in effect, with helping the country to escape from a cruel crisis. When that crisis is over, it will be time enough to discuss Constitutions. Till then, though I am not the author of the Republic, I shall regard it as a trust, and I will take care that it does not suffer while in my hands. The task that I have set myself is the liberation of French territory from foreign occupation. To this end the maintenance of order is an indispensable condition, and therefore the maintenance of order will be the leading characteristic of my policy. On the whole, it would be difficult to preach a better sermon than this to the French Radicals. If they were told that they could drive the Germans out of the departments they still hold by a great military effort, they might perhaps be willing to lay aside their differences in order to make that effort. But when the same object has to be accomplished by the prosaic process of paying off an indemnity, they are disposed to think the sacrifice too great. If they are to be burdened with fresh loans and fresh taxes they want at least to be allowed some political excitement to support them under the unaccustomed weight. They forget that where party divisions are so deep-seated as they are in France, political excitement is but a stepping-stone to political confusion, and that the first requisite to raising money is the avoidance of disputes between those who have to find and those who have to spend it.

The Special Correspondent of the *Times* has lately given a

very clear description of the three courses which are open to the Government. One is to dissolve the Assembly and let the country elect representatives for the express purpose of deciding on the form of government. Another is to allow the present Chamber to undertake this duty. A third is to leave the constitutional question unsettled, and go on legislating from hand to mouth. The writer states with great accuracy and fulness the merits and demerits of the first of these alternatives. A dissolution might give the Government a better legal status, and the country a more real representation; but if the Conservatives followed their usual practice of abstaining from voting, the Radicals would get an unfair majority, while if the Conservatives maintained their preponderance in the Chamber, the Radicals might try another revolution, which would probably give the Bonapartists the precise opportunity they want. But he is not equally impartial as regards the second and third. He admits that, if the present Chamber were to address itself to the work of framing a Constitution, it is doubtful whether a body composed of such contradictory materials could constitute anything, and that the fusion of the Imperialists with the Radicals, on the ground of alleged usurpation on the part of the Monarchical majority, would strengthen the position of the former. But the disadvantages attendant on the third alternative lead him, in spite of these admissions, to accord the preference to the second. The present provisional state of things gives the Imperialists "the right to say that the country is without a Government; it produces a feeling of uncertainty; . . . and it has a tendency to retard the material development and progress of the country, in consequence of the element of doubt and distrust which it involves;" and consequently the immediate assumption of constituent powers by the present Assembly is, in his opinion, the safest way out of the difficulty. This conclusion leaves out of sight two important considerations. The first is that a constituent Session would be even more likely than a new election to provoke a revolution. If the Radicals would treat the return of a Conservative majority to a new Chamber as a justification for civil war, why should they attach less significance to the establishment of a monarchy by the Conservative majority in the existing Chamber? The second is, that whether in the present Chamber or in a new one, the prospect of a revolution and of the indignity of a prolonged German occupation, which would certainly accompany a revolution, would deter every patriotic Frenchman from using the constituent power, even if he were invested with it. For a time he might persuade himself that the danger was imaginary, but the moment its existence became manifest he would assent to a prolongation of the present interregnum as the only way out of the difficulty. Before the French people can put their house in order they must have that house to themselves. Constitutional controversies are out of place in a nation which has still to submit to see one part of its territory occupied by foreign troops, and another part temporarily neutralized, as a guarantee for the punctual payment of a fine imposed by an enemy.

THE DEBATE IN THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

AFTER discussing the payment of fees in Denominational schools for six days, the London School Board has determined that the question shall be discussed over again whenever a claim for such payment is presented. Mr. MORLEY's amendment might have been defeated on a division, but the majority in the Board were wisely unwilling to drive their Nonconformist constituents to extremities. It has all along been evident that the anti-Denominationalists have the power of making any by-law on the subject a dead letter by refusing payment of the Education rate so long as any part of it gets into the hands of Denominational managers; and the stiff-necked indifference to the cause of education as compared with the gratification of theological passion, which has characterized their speeches in various parts of the country, makes it probable that they are ready and willing to spare their pockets and their consciences by one and the same act. Mr. SMITH's proposal to leave the matter undecided for the present is perhaps founded on the hope that no indigent parent will object to send his child to a School Board school. Unless the Board intends to limit its adoption of the compulsory principle to a formal resolution, this calculation is doomed to disappointment. For some time to come there will often be Denominational schools close to a child's house, and no School Board school within a mile of it. A father, irritated perhaps at having to send his child to school at all, is not likely to be conciliated by the child having to spend time and shoe-leather because the Nonconformist Liberals object to his

learning reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Denominational teacher. Even if a School Board school could by a miracle in brick and mortar be at once set up next door to every voluntary school, the difficulty would not be disposed of. The *Daily News* maintains that, "if a parent in any part of London should go to the managers of a Denominational school, and tell them that he wished to send his child to their school to be taught, but could not pay the fees, they would at once find means of paying the fees for him." Our contemporary seems to make no account of the numberless opportunities for fraud and mendicancy involved in this astounding suggestion. If benevolent persons are to be encouraged to pay the fees for every child whose parents dislike having to pay them, Denominational schools will be filled and Nonconformist consciences consulted at the cost, as Mr. TABRUM justly pointed out, of offering a premium for idleness and improvidence. If School Boards make over the payment of fees to irresponsible private agencies, the only hope of guarding effectually against this danger will disappear. The *Daily News* assumes the Denominationalist party to be entirely made up of worms that can be trusted not to turn. No doubt, if there were no other way of getting a child to their school, the managers in question might find means of paying the fees. But, considering that the supporters of Denominational schools will be rated equally with other people for the support of School Board schools, they may object to saddling themselves with a further liability merely because the School Board does not want to use the powers given to it by the Education Act. It is more likely that they will tell the parent to plead inability to pay the fees on the one hand, and unwillingness to send his child to an undenominational school on the other, and leave the Board to "deal with the case on its merits." Unless the opposition has learnt moderation in the interval, the debate thus called forth may be as long as that which has just ended.

The supporters of Mr. MORLEY's amendment may be distributed into three classes—Unsectarians, Secularists, and Professor HUXLEY. The first have no objection to religious teaching being paid for out of the rates—indeed, Mr. MORLEY and Mr. REED are declared opponents of any system of education from which religion is omitted. But they maintain that the religious teaching thus paid for should be undenominational; uncoloured, that is, by the distinctive tenets of any particular sect. This at once raises the old question whether such teaching is possible. Because, if it is not possible—if the smallest residuum of religious teaching will still retain some tinge of Denominationalism—the same objection will lie against the support out of the rates of School Board schools in which religion is taught as that which Mr. MORLEY and his friends insist on in the case of Denominational schools. In the first place, the recognition of a Supreme Being lies at the foundation of religious teaching as commonly understood. But, on Mr. MORLEY's principle, what right has the Theistic majority in the London School Board to take Mr. BRADLAUGH's money for the support of a school in which children will be taught to believe in a God? In all probability the School Board schools will go beyond this initial doctrine, and introduce some reference to Christian morality. But Christian morality is mainly deduced from the words of a personage as to whose character Jews and Christians are divided. On Mr. MORLEY's principle, what right has the Christian majority in the London School Board to take a Jew's money for the support of a school in which children will be taught to believe that CHRIST was a Divine teacher? Again, Christian morality rests on the words of a teacher who has said a great deal about Himself, and Christians are broadly divided into those who hold that He declared Himself to be God and those who hold that He declared Himself to be man. It will be impossible for any schoolmaster to expound the Gospels without conveying to his scholars some impression of his attitude upon this controversy, and the London School Board will possibly hold that their resolution against making any "attempt to attach children to any particular denomination" does not prevent schoolmasters from teaching the divinity of CHRIST. On Mr. MORLEY's principle, what right have the orthodox party in the Board to take a Unitarian's money for the support of schools in which children are taught that JESUS CHRIST is God? The unsectarian party is absolutely inconsistent upon this question. They cry out against the support out of the rates of teaching which they themselves reject; but they see no harm in the support out of the rates of teaching which they themselves accept. They preach a doctrine about the ratepayer's conscience which, logically followed out, would lead them to withhold public money from any school which is not purely secular, and then they refuse

to be bound by their own words. The secularists escape this dilemma so far as their principles are concerned; but they have not been equally fortunate as regards their practice. They wish to see religion omitted from State schools; but they do not see that, until religion is thus omitted, common fairness demands that ratepayers who are compelled to pay for the support of schools the religious teaching in which they disapprove should not sustain the additional hardship of seeing poor parents of the same way of thinking with themselves compelled to send their children to these schools. Professor HUXLEY alone among those who support Mr. MORLEY is altogether at one with himself. He boldly disclaims "the modern liberal doctrine that 'we ought to tolerate everything.'" He desires that whatever can be demonstrated to be against the welfare of society should be opposed by the whole power of the State, and under the head of things that can be demonstrated to be against the welfare of society he includes Ultramontane Catholicism. With his minor premises there is no great need to quarrel, but his major is hardly compatible with religious toleration, far less with religious equality. Professor HUXLEY has lately been in communication with "a high Catholic authority." He will find, if he will ask him, that Ultramontanes hold it to be "absolutely true" that Professor HUXLEY's own views are "destructive of all that is highest in the nature of man." If it is the duty of a latitudinarian State to oppose Ultramontanism with its whole power, it is equally the duty of an Ultramontane State to oppose Rationalism with its whole power. If the power of the State is once used, directly or indirectly, for the suppression of this or that variety of opinion, there is no prospect open to modern society except an endless succession of proscriptions. Each doctrine in turn will gain the ascendancy by persecuting those who dissent from it, and lose it as soon as it has gained it by the reaction which inevitably follows upon such a process. With these views, however, it is quite natural that Professor HUXLEY should object to paying threepence a week to send a Roman Catholic child to a Roman Catholic school. He admits that, if he could, he would shut up Roman Catholic schools; and there is no doubt that every fee paid to their managers is a help to keeping them open. But Professor HUXLEY has unintentionally furnished a lever to Roman Catholic Denominationalists of which they will not be slow to avail themselves. Does compulsory education mean the forcing of Roman Catholic children into schools one of whose managers has avowed his conviction that Catholicism ought to be opposed by the whole power of the State? Before Mr. MORLEY and his friends make up their minds to say Yes to this inquiry, they should count the cost of the opposition they will inevitably provoke.

For the most part, however, the opponents of the payment of fees in Denominational schools repudiate Professor HUXLEY's doctrine. They have no objection to the existence of Roman Catholic schools; they only protest against the money of the ratepayers going to subsidize Roman Catholic teaching. But so long as the fee paid is not greater than covers the cost of the secular instruction given to the children, the ratepayers' money goes to do nothing of the sort. To repeat an illustration we have used before; if A. is bound to pay for a child's food, but has refused to pay for his clothing, he will not be guilty of self-contradiction if he hands over the net cost of the food to B., who is willing to find clothes as well as board without making any additional charge. A. will pay as before for the child's food; B. will pay for his clothes. Of course, if B. keeps a children's boarding-house, A.'s money will go to the support of the house; and if A. is like Professor HUXLEY, and thinks that B. should be prevented from clothing children, A. will not assent to this arrangement. But if he merely dislikes having himself to pay for the child's clothes, he will have no objection to B.'s throwing them in for the same money. It is a mere misuse of terms to call the payment of fees in Denominational schools "concurrent 'endowment.'" Concurrent endowment means a system under which several religions are taught at the cost of the State. The system which it is now sought to stigmatize by this name is one under which secular subjects are taught at the expense of the State in schools belonging to several religions. Fair reasoners ought to be above using a phrase which can only be defended on the principle that it is sometimes convenient to give a dog a bad name.

THE MORMON PROSECUTIONS.

THE misfortunes which have fallen on BRIGHAM YOUNG and his associates will attract little sympathy beyond the limits of their own community; but the rise, the temporary prosperity, and the approaching fall of Mormonism are not

without a certain historical or political interest. When the sect was first organized, forty years ago, moral theorists were startled by the discovery that it was still possible both to found a false religion and to establish among a community of European descent a practice which had from time immemorial been confined to the East. The Freethinkers of the last century, indeed, had regarded the founders of false religions as wilful impostors; but enlarged historical study showed that from the days of MAHOMET to the time of the German Anabaptists pious fraud had almost always been indistinguishably associated with sincere fanaticism. The most surprising peculiarity of JOSEPH SMITH's successful enterprise was that he was at the same time a prophet and a rascal; yet he had founded a creed upon a gross forgery before popular violence and bad faith converted him into a martyr. The subsequent migration of his disciples from the States to the remote region of the Salt Lake, at the same time that it proved and confirmed their faith, created among them a social and political organization. The absurd fiction of the inspired Book of Mormon seems to have been gradually dropped, and it is doubtful whether the remarkable institution by which the Mormons have made themselves notorious was originally an essential tenet of their religion. The paternal despotism which took the place among them of the democratic traditions of the Western Continent was at least as remarkable an innovation as the plurality of wives. In the hands of an able chief absolute government was probably beneficial to the society; and polygamy, while it shocked the moral sense of the outside world, both served the purpose of an advertisement and brought with it some economic convenience. If it had been possible to hire women-servants, it might perhaps not have been thought necessary to multiply wives. In a new settlement female labour is the scarcest of commodities, while it is at the same time indispensable to comfort. Of other motives for a defiance of the ordinary rules of morality it is unnecessary to speak. Notwithstanding the example of the Mormons, it is still allowable to believe that prosperity is not founded on the vices with which it may nevertheless be compatible. The eccentricity and unpopularity of the sect provided the political society with a bond of union, and it is certain that their resources were developed with extraordinary skill and vigour. Their members were principally recruited by an elaborate system of immigration from England, and especially from Wales, which has since the time of PELAGIUS been prone to new-fangled heresies. All travellers in the Salt Lake region agree in the statement that the Mormons have in the course of a generation converted a wilderness into a flourishing settlement. Their arrangements for the comfort and safety of immigrants were more thoughtful and complete than the working of any other public or private organization; and on their arrival the rulers of the Church were prepared to direct the labour of the new comers into the most useful channels. In his sermons, BRIGHAM YOUNG, after the fashion of an ancient prophet, combined social or economic dictation with religious instruction. If any man neglected the cultivation of his farm or the prosecution of his business, he was liable to be publicly reproved, as a recalcitrant Irish elector is sometimes cursed from the altar.

If the Mormons could have maintained their original isolation, it is not improbable that they might in the next generation have abandoned the objectionable and unpopular practice of polygamy. To their ancestors in England and in Wales the abuse was unknown; and hereditary habits, sanctioned by the general opinion of the world, are nearly certain sooner or later to prevail against paradoxical novelties. In other respects the Mormons have realized or anticipated the schemes of projectors who from time to time occupy themselves with plans for organized colonization. It would be interesting to try various political experiments in unoccupied parts of the world, in imitation of the scores of independent Greek colonies which formerly lined the coasts of the Mediterranean; but unfortunately the modern world is mapped out into Kingdoms and Republics, until it is scarcely possible to find a country beyond the limits of some existing sovereignty. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, between the Great Lakes and the Mexican border, every resident is voluntarily or involuntarily a citizen of the United States. The Mormons had taken refuge on Mexican soil; but in a few years, without any choice on their part, their allegiance was transferred by conquest to the Republic from which they had fled. Their settlement was ultimately included in the Territory of Utah, but several years elapsed before they were practically brought within American jurisdiction. BRIGHAM YOUNG showed much diplomatic skill in baffling the Federal authorities, while he at the same time evaded direct collision. All intercourse with the States was as far as possible discouraged, and

it is uncertain whether the common rumour of murders perpetrated on intruders was founded on fact, on external prejudice, or on the desire of the Mormons to alarm unwelcome immigrants. The statement that BRIGHAM YOUNG is now accused of complicity in a murder committed thirteen years ago refers to charges which may possibly be fabulous. After the acquisition and settlement of California, the gradual appropriation of the Eastern and Western settlements was easy to be foreseen. The heathen or Gentile element in the population of Salt Lake City became from day to day comparatively stronger; and malcontents who had any cause of quarrel with the local rulers became more and more confident in their reliance on American support. On one occasion a military expedition established the disputed authority of the Government of Washington, and the Mormons, finding it dangerous to resist the invaders, contented themselves with making profitable contracts for the supply of the commissariat.

The completion of the Pacific Railway, with its branches, has apparently sealed the doom of the Mormon government and religion. By the law of the United States, as imported from England, bigamy is a crime; nor will it be possible to suggest any legal defence against the charge of having married a dozen wives. It is true that in America, as in England, a practical polygamist may keep clear of the criminal law by simply dispensing with the ceremony of marriage, which is indeed fiercely denounced by the International Society and by the revolutionists on the Continent of Europe; but the leaders of the Mormons must, for the sake of their own influence over their followers, insist on the validity of their favourite rite. The admiring historian of American concubinage overlooked the distinction between the Mormons and the fantastic little communities which in the Atlantic States cultivate various forms of free or figurative marriage. In Utah itself BRIGHAM YOUNG and his fellow-delinquents might have hoped to secure by the verdict of a jury the acquittal which the law could by no interpretation be made to sanction; but the Judge who is to try the case has extemporized a rule by which the supporters of polygamy are disqualified from sitting on a jury. The case will consequently be heard before a packed tribunal, and the sentence of the Court will formally affirm the supremacy of American law over the customs of any sect or district. The Federal jurisdiction is supreme only because Utah is a Territory; for a State once admitted into the Union would have full power to legalize polygamy or any other enormity. The Territory would for some time past have been enticed by the amount of its population to admission as a State; but Congress has steadily refused to grant a privilege which would have deprived the Central Government and Legislature of all control over domestic institutions. It is scarcely probable that the Mormons will have either the temerity to resist the law, or spirit enough to attempt another exodus to some country not yet controlled by American law. In Canada they would find bigamy as illegal as in the States; and in the dominion of Mexico they would have to conquer their own independence from the nominal Government, and they would always live in dread of another annexation. Polygamy is scarcely an object for which it is worth while to fight and to die; and the patriarchal system of government is becoming even in Utah an anachronism. American institutions may or may not be destined to traverse the world; but it is impossible to doubt that they will prevail universally within the area of the United States. No nation is more tolerant of individual caprice as long as it is dissociated from political power; but government by a majority, according to the forms which are common to all the States, is not to be interrupted by little sectarian principalities. It was not more impossible in the ages recorded by GIBBON to escape from the power of the Roman Emperors than for an American citizen to remove himself beyond reach of the ballot-box. The history of JOSEPH SMITH's religion and of BRIGHAM YOUNG's government has apparently come to an end. The careers of the founder and of his successor prove that strangeness and originality are to be found even in the modern world; and the impending collapse of the system illustrates on the other hand the irresistible force of the causes which produce political and social uniformity.

MR. GLADSTONE'S POCKET COMPANION.

IT appears that Mr. GLADSTONE finds time amidst his arduous public duties to pay court to the Muses. He has attended a performance of *King John* somewhere in Marylebone, in a kind of state, and has shared with the principal

actor the applause of the threepenny gallery and the more subdued attentions of the pit. It is stated that the audience discovered various political allusions in the play, but we are left to conjecture what they were. FAULCONBRIDGE's confident proclamation of the power of England to resist all enemies could hardly be identified with a policy of trusting in Providence rather than in armaments; but a personal application might be made of the Bastard's reference to those who trim with the times and distil "sweet, sweet poison for the age's tooth." The PREMIER has also availed himself of the opportunity of addressing a large body of working-men on Saturday to introduce to their notice a little volume of poetry which has just been printed, and which he seems to have read with much interest and satisfaction. He did not mention the name of the work, but it was of course readily discovered by means of the extract which he recited in the course of his speech, and the publishers may be trusted to turn the puff to the best account. The book had already been stamped with "the hearty approval and commendation" of Mr. BRADLAUGH, and the PREMIER's endorsement may now be added to the preface. A book appearing under this double patronage will naturally excite much interest, and after such a handsome advertisement it may be expected to command an extensive circulation among the working classes, for whose edification it is especially intended. A perusal of this curious publication will probably surprise many of those who are induced to read it on the authoritative recommendation of the reviewer of *Ecce Homo*. Some of them may indeed be tempted to apply to it Lord SHAFTESBURY's somewhat vehement observation on the subject of Mr. GLADSTONE's fervid laudation in *Good Words*. *The Secularist's Manual of Songs and Ceremonies*—for that is its title—bears, in fact, about the same resemblance to *Ecce Homo* that Mr. GLADSTONE's book on Church and State bears to the later developments of his ecclesiastical philosophy. It will be gathered from this that the "Manual" is of an advanced character. We may as well say at once that it is directed not merely to the negation, but to the blasphemous ridicule, of the Deity and of all forms of religion which have the Bible for their basis. Mr. GLADSTONE, while he applauds the "good sense" of some of the verses in this volume, is constrained to admit that its contents are "questionable." This must be supposed to mean that he is not prepared to commit himself altogether—at least not just yet—to the principles of the National Secular Society, whose creed and hymn-book are embodied in this publication. It is reassuring to know that the leader of the Liberal party is still of opinion that Atheism and blasphemy are "questionable," and that the revolutionary propositions with which they are associated in the "Manual" have not yet obtained his unqualified assent. The rules of the Association inform us that it is the duty of an "active member" to promote the circulation of Secular literature and generally to aid the Freethought propaganda of his neighbourhood. If Mr. GLADSTONE hesitates to accept the principles of the new communion, he has at least amply discharged the obligations of active membership. It does not appear from the reports in the newspapers whether the agents of the Society were posted on Blackheath with a supply of "Manuals" for immediate distribution; but it may be presumed that they have by this time found a ready sale for them among the workmen of Woolwich Arsenal and other establishments who were relieved from labour earlier than usual in order that they might have the benefit of Mr. GLADSTONE's speech.

The primary object of the National Secular Society is stated to be to make war comprehensively and indiscriminately upon the "theological teachings of the world" as obstructive of human improvement and happiness. But its aims are political as well as irreligious. The earnest and active attention of the Society is directed to procure not only the repeal of the Blasphemy laws, "as a special matter affecting its members," and the disestablishment and disendowment of all State Churches, but also the redistribution of real and personal property, the regulation of wages, and the abolition of the House of Lords. The precise means by which society is to be regenerated are not explained in the "Manual," except that religion generally is to be abolished. The burden of the verses in this collection is that working-men are shamefully ill used by those above them; that religion is only a dodge of the upper classes to serve their own ends; and that, if the people desire to be better off, they must assert the might of numbers, and help themselves to whatever they want. This is the obvious meaning of the parody on the National Anthem of which Mr. GLADSTONE quoted the first verse, which he said contained "much good sense." The succeeding verses insist that the people are plundered by employers and landlords; that the aris-

toerats must be made to support themselves by their own labour, implying, of course, that their other resources will be taken from them; and that it is for the working classes to take matters into their own hands, and "save themselves." Many of the pieces consist of namby-pamby stuff about freedom and fraternity, and serve as a vehicle for the more virulent incitements to disaffection and revolt. The titles of some of the poems—such as, "Base Oppressors leave your Slumbers," "There must be Something Wrong," and "Why do Men Starve?"—sufficiently indicate the feelings of injury and exasperation which are intended to be aroused in the minds of readers of the class which is depicted as oppressed and despoiled. SHELLEY's lines on Peterloo are given without a hint that they refer to a past state of things. An "Address to the Upper Classes" asserts that their houses and lands are held by "direct fraud," and belong properly to the people, who will hereafter rise and redress their wrongs.

We have learnt the startling lesson,
If we will, we can be free,

is the refrain of another piece, beginning "Tyrants quail"; and there is no room for doubt as to the kind of freedom aimed at, and the sort of liberties which "the people" are incited to take with other people's property. While the political philosophy of the Secularist hymnal is of this noxious and dangerous character, the blasphemous ribaldry of some of the pieces relating to religion defies quotation in our pages. The mountebank litanies which attend the meetings in the Parks have lately been repudiated by some of the democratic leaders, but their infamous parody of sacred things is equalled, if not surpassed, by such verses as the "New Doxology" in this volume, of which we can only bring ourselves to copy a single verse:—

Praise Cant, from which our riches flow!
Praise it, ye "clerics" here below!
Praise it, ye "nobs"—a mighty host!
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!

Mr. GLADSTONE's friends profess to be surprised at the peculiar exasperation which he is apt to produce among his opponents, and the distrust with which he frequently inspires his own supporters; and to Mr. GLADSTONE himself this is no doubt a subject of more sincere and genuine perplexity. It is quite inconceivable that any other public man should have marred the effect of a prudent and moderate speech by wantonly going out of his way to advertise an obscure book of the most mischievous and offensive character. It is not known that Mr. BRADLAUGH, who recently offered an insolent defiance to the Government in Trafalgar Square, has been admitted to the PREMIER's confidence; but FINLEN's visit to Carlton Gardens has not been forgotten, nor the encouragement he there received to desecrate the Sunday by a gathering of the rabble. Mr. GLADSTONE must have been fully aware of the nature of the book to which he directed attention, and of which he expressed such mild and ambiguous disapproval. The "Manual" will circulate after the speech is forgotten, and it is not improbable that it may attain a spurious authority from a confused remembrance or a garbled report of the PREMIER's allusion to it. Mr. ODGER has already proclaimed the encouragement which he has derived from Mr. GLADSTONE's supposed pledge that, when he has thought twice or thrice about the House of Lords, he will abolish it; and this advertisement of the psalmody of blasphemy and revolution may be in like manner construed into a kind of left-handed adhesion to the subversive doctrines of Freethought Republicanism. The idea which Mr. GLADSTONE desired to convey by his quotation from the "Manual" would have been better expressed in his own language; and it will be plausibly argued that he could have had no motive for referring to the book except to exhibit a sympathetic acquaintance with its contents, and to procure for it a wider circulation. While seditious agitators are encouraged by the countenance thus afforded to their schemes, moderate and reflecting men are startled by the discovery of the strange direction in which Mr. GLADSTONE's thoughts are wandering, and by the possibility of his having to compose a supplemental Chapter of Autobiography to explain how, in the words of one of the Secularist hymns,

I've travelled from sectarian strife
With Freethought to abide.

Mr. BRADLAUGH is reported to have recently explained that, while he himself was at the head of the Freethought Republicans, Mr. ODGER led the "pious ones" who would be alarmed by an avowal of infidelity. Mr. GLADSTONE will have to make up his mind with which of these leaders he will compete if he throws himself into the movement. It would appear that certain subjects and persons, from which most people with any degree of reason and self-respect are anxious

to hold aloof as far as possible, exercise a strange fascination on the PREMIER, and attract him as if by a magnetic or magic influence. It is impossible to account otherwise for his morbid eagerness to associate with the politicians of the pavement and the gutter, and to connect himself with the dull blasphemy and venomous nonsense of the *Secularist's Manual*.

UNIVERSAL EDUCATION.

WHEN Lord Derby was addressing the Manchester Grammar School the other day, he spoke of a danger which must sometimes have occurred to most of us. He drew a picture of that day—not, to his sanguine mind, a very remote day—at which everybody will be enabled to put as high a polish upon his faculties as nature admits. Every clever lad, however humble his original position, will have his foot on the lowest round of a ladder of exhibitions, by which he may climb to receive the highest education which the country can afford, and qualify himself for its most important offices. The change will not stop here. The refinement will permeate through the ablest members of the lower classes to their relations. Daylight will be allowed to penetrate to points in the very lowest strata of society, and some faint twilight will thence be diffused even to those who cannot themselves climb upwards. When the ploughman's son may become a senior wrangler, and hence attain to a bishopric or a seat on the Bench, the ploughman himself will gather up some of the crumbs of knowledge. From the highest to the lowest we shall all take an interest in competitive examinations, and be more or less qualified to pronounce upon their merits. A glorious prospect truly! and yet, as Lord Derby maintained, not without some drawbacks. When knowledge becomes universal, it will become cheap. We shall not be able to provide a sufficient outlet for the vast amount of intellectual energy that will be generated. The youthful clothopper who has raised himself to mental equality with the son of the squire will despise his position. Everybody will be anxious to become a member of one of the learned professions which are already full to bursting. We shall unfit men for menial duties, and a vast amount of discontent will be the inevitable result. Americans sometimes complain that their clever young men rush into the cities. The young farmer who has been through an elevated course of education has a soul above turnips and fatted beasts. He wishes to try his arithmetical talents on a grand scale in commercial pursuits, or to air his newly-gained powers of expression at the Bar or in Congress. The quiet stay-at-home habits of an earlier state of society become discredited; and a feverish desire for more exciting, though, from a national point of view, not more useful, forms of occupation takes possession of the whole population.

The remark in one form or another is frequently made; and it is worth considering for a moment what is really to be said for it. The first answer that will be made is obvious enough. This, it will be urged, is merely a new form of an old objection. It was the popular opinion of the last century that the masses ought to be kept in ignorance, in order to keep them contented. Reading and writing were denounced as useless to the manual labourer, and calculated only to make him a bad workman and a political agitator. The argument is of course now mentioned only to be dismissed with contempt; and yet there was perhaps some grain of truth in it. Undoubtedly the tendency of education was to make the working classes discontented; but it does not at all follow that education was a bad thing. On the contrary, the existence of a considerable quantity of discontent is a necessary condition of improvement; and a people which was never dissatisfied with the conditions of its daily life—however convenient its mental attitude might be to the governing classes—would be a stagnant people, and therefore on the high road to national decay. It does not, however, follow that discontent is desirable to an unlimited degree, or that it is not possible to have too much of this as of many other good things. We must look forward for an indefinite time to a condition of society in which everybody will be anxious for improvement; but we can hardly anticipate with pleasure a condition of society in which the majority of mankind will be permanently convinced that they are suffering from irremediable injustice. A different ground is therefore taken up by those who are anxious for extended education. This, it is urged, will be merely a transitory phenomenon. Take a single ploughboy at the present day; train him thoroughly in all the branches of a sound English education; let him understand the use of the globes, whatever that may be; suppose him capable of quoting Shakespeare, Dante, and Æschylus as he walks at the plough-tail, and of solving problems in the differential calculus for his amusement in the long winter evenings. Such a man will of course be discontented, but why? Because he possesses the accomplishments only to be found in a class far above his own. He will feel himself naturally to be a misplaced and ill-used man; he is qualified for the highest position, and is set down to mechanical labours unworthy of him. But imagine the same sort of education to be universally diffused. Suppose that his fellow-workmen are capable of capping verses with him, and discovering errors in his mathematical processes. Imagine that those above him have made a proportional progress, and that he is therefore relatively in the same grade of culture as at present. Then his discontent will be no longer justifiable. A

man in a laced coat would be above working in the fields; but if all men wore laced coats in the fields, and those above them wore finer coats still, everybody might still be satisfied. Every instrument would have been tuned to a higher pitch, but harmony might still be preserved. And if we further suppose that the rarer geniuses who were able to raise themselves to the highest levels of culture when the first steps were thus opened to them, were capable, by Lord Derby's system of exhibitions, of rising to the highest offices, the only real cause of complaint would be remedied. Under such circumstances the widest possible culture might be bestowed upon a whole nation without giving cause for any additional jealousy, or, rather, whilst removing those which actually exist.

This answer is plausible enough, but it is not entirely satisfactory. Even if there were no class hostility under such circumstances, there would be a certain amount of revolt against things in general. Take, for example, the case of our ploughboy familiar with mathematical researches, or, still more, the case of a similar youth doomed to perform one of those monotonous manufacturing processes which require nothing but a little quickly-acquired manual dexterity. Everybody else being equally cultivated, he would have no better chance of rising than at present, and yet he would keenly feel that his capacities were above his task. He would suffer the pain which we all feel when wasting our talents. And, if he did not complain of injustice, he would perhaps find fault with the arrangements of Providence. He would still be a razor cutting blocks, even though all our blocks were cut with razors, and though we had instruments of still finer temper to apply to more delicate purposes. True, he would have a resource for amusing himself in the intervals of labour; but he would probably think, and with some truth, that he could make a better use of his faculties than simply acquiring a few new playthings. The fact is that Lord Derby's complaint, though it refers to so distant a state of things that any serious consideration of it seems rather premature, does point to an evil which is already perceptible, and which is likely to grow more perceptible in future. We do not dread the extension of education to any conceivable amount; on the contrary, we regard it as one of the most desirable objects which philanthropists can possibly propose to themselves; but we must admit that a great deal of what passes for education now is calculated to produce discontent and to unfit its objects for their daily lives. The same evil may be noticed at both ends of the scale. In the highest classes, competitive examinations have a natural tendency to produce a certain waste of talent. At Cambridge, for example, a number of able young men are encouraged to devote many years to the study of mathematics, for which only a small minority can afterwards find a direct application. Many lads spend the years from fifteen or sixteen to twenty-two or three in sharpening certain faculties which are afterwards allowed to fall into total disuse. We do not of course overlook the ordinary "gymnastic" argument; the doctrine that the mind generally is so braced by such studies that there is a general as well as a special increase of vigour. But it remains true that a large amount of active talent is generated which, so far as its own special field is concerned, is thrown away. That the practice produces some evil results is admitted by most observers; but such results are of course far more conspicuous in the innumerable competitive examinations which are everywhere springing up. In many of them it cannot be plausibly said that either the general cultivation of the mind or the development of special faculties is the natural tendency of the appropriate training. It is a fortunate, though, we fear, a rare, coincidence when the pursuit of such aims happens to fall in with the pursuit of marks. As the mental habits fostered by such a system become more strongly marked and spread through larger classes of the population, it will necessarily follow that a great deal of education must, so far as it succeeds, tend to encourage tastes which can never be gratified. The main consolation for its victories will be the miserable one that cramming can scarcely be said to encourage any tastes at all. To go to a lower class, a similar result is even more conspicuous. We hear it constantly said that the best taught children in an elementary school are frequently less effective members of society than their parents. They have more knowledge; but it is not of a kind to help them in their daily struggles. They can read and write better, but they know no more about cooking; perhaps they may be better accountants, or, it may be, more able to spell through the improving sheets of the *Police News*, but they are bad hands at sewing or at taking care of a household. The trifling intellectual culture which they have obtained is insufficient for any useful purpose, and to obtain it they have been compelled to sacrifice much practical training of the most essential importance.

It is of course easy to reject all such complaints as the dishonest grumbings of obstructives who, under the cover of criticizing some particular scheme of education, are really jealous of all effective education whatever. It is, however, more honest to admit the degree of truth which they really contain, and to point out its true application. Undoubtedly, in our haste to provide some system of education, we are often inclined to take a very narrow view of the purposes to which it should be directed. We hastily apply any mode of training which may happen to be at work, and apply it without very much thought of the real wants of the persons who are to enjoy it. An ideal system of training would include a general cultivation of the intellectual faculties as well as a more or less special training for different occupations. If

we imagine such a system to have been introduced, we may dimly guess at some solution of that difficult problem about the ploughboy or the artisan. A thorough comprehension of the principles applicable to his trade would in many cases make it less irksome. A growth of intelligence, by rendering his labour more efficient, would enable him to spare more time for refined cultivation; and perhaps no one would have need to complain if, for a few hours of moderate work, he were able to spend the rest of the day in harmless enjoyment. Breaking stones is certainly a tiresome occupation, but so is writing sermons, or investigating titles, or making out balance-sheets, or driving round to patients. In every employment there is a quantity of repulsive detail which is not always the less repulsive because it employs the mind instead of the body. Many a hard-worked lawyer or man of business must have wished that he could earn a title to retirement amongst his books, his family, or his amusements, by a fixed daily period of exercise on the treadmill. Why should not the ideal working-man of the future prefer labouring with his hands at some monotonous employment to the worry and disappointments of more exciting careers? It is a mockery to speak of intellectual pleasures to a man whose only escape from squalor and uproar is the public-house; but when a whole class has diminished its hours of labour, and increased its power of rational enjoyment, it will have appropriate methods of amusing itself. In such a case even a glut of educational instruments would probably not be dangerous.

M. TAINE ON ENGLISH LIFE

FRENCH books about England, or indeed about any foreign country, are usually more amusing than instructive; or, at least as far as they are instructive, it is rather as an illustration of French peculiarities than as a trustworthy account of the character and habits of the people who are the subject of observation. We are entitled to believe that in this respect we are less liable to error than our brilliant, but too didactic, neighbours. It is almost inconceivable that even a very stupid and ignorant Englishman should fall into such extraordinary blunders about any foreign country as those which clever and accomplished Frenchmen are constantly committing. The reason of this is to be sought, not in any superior acuteness or sagacity on our part, but in the different habits of mind of the two nations. Englishmen are no doubt quite as prejudiced and bigoted in their own way as most Frenchmen, and as much disposed to set up their own insular traditions as an absolute standard of human wisdom and moral perfection; but their prejudices and bigotry do not operate to the same extent to distort their observations and betray their judgment. To an Englishman a fact is a fact, whether he can explain it or not. He does not consider himself under any obligation to set up a theory about it, or to make it fit in with other facts; all he has to do is to verify it as a fact as far as he can. But a Frenchman despises a fact except as material for an argument. If by patching or paring he cannot adapt it to this purpose, he rejects it as worthless, and readily supplies himself from his imagination with something more manageable and convenient. This tendency of the French mind is represented in its most extravagant form in such writings as those of M. Victor Hugo; but it is also perceptible, in a modified and sobered degree, in the "Notes on England" which M. Taine has been publishing in the *Temps*. M. Taine has something of Sainte-Beuve's impassiveness and impartiality on moral questions, but the temptation to launch into dashing, confident generalizations, to explain everything off-hand, and to tack a smart bit of philosophy to every prosaic statement of fact, is too much for him. It may be said of M. Taine that he would see more if he were content to see less. He cannot bring himself to confess that there is anything he cannot understand, any problems he cannot solve on the instant, between the puffs of his cigarette. The whole world of English life, with its strange mingling of old and new, its transitions, complexities, and obscurities, is as clear and plain to him at a glance as the pips on a playing-card. He reads it off as glibly as Launcelot Gobbo read his fortunes in his hand. He compares an Englishman's head to one of Murray's Guides—all facts and no ideas; but perhaps French ideas, including some of M. Taine's, would be all the better if they had a foundation of fact. M. Taine's reflections on the use of the word "governor," applied by a young man to his father, as indicating the extreme deference and humility with which English youths, especially undergraduates, habitually treat their parents, furnish an amusing example of free and easy speculation. On the whole, however, these letters are not only brilliant and witty, but contain a good deal of acute observation and suggestive criticism.

In point of good looks M. Taine has nothing very flattering to say of us. We are too robust and too vigorous, men and women alike, for French taste. Rude health and highly developed physical energy are set down as necessarily incompatible with refinement or a delicate sensibility. M. Taine is very anxious to have it understood that he does not undervalue good health, or ignore its beauty, and the moral strength and wholesomeness which accompany it; but he evidently thinks that the physical part of us is overdone. We eat too much, and drink too much, and devote ourselves to strong animal sensations. Our liquors are too heady, and what is an ordinary dose of physic for an Englishman would be rather more than enough for a French horse. Our delight in muscular exertion is excessive, and M. Taine once

knew two young Englishmen in Paris who actually slept with their windows open. This, he remarks, shows a primitive taste. Watching our countrymen at a railway station, in the streets, or in the parks, he discovers, under their modern garments, the large limbs and strong rude framework of the primitive race—the wild men of the woods. He is startled at seeing gentlemen as big and powerful as navvies or coalheavers. The contrast between their huge figures and their soft glossy clothes and social functions strikes him as quite grotesque. “An old country gentleman has the air of a fat pig who has a recollection of his grandfather, the wild boar.” As for the common people, especially the peasants, sailors, farmers, and even the squires, they are either jolly fellows or hulking monsters—the incarnation of sheer brute force. It is true that M. Taine makes these remarks on the types represented in Leech’s caricatures; but his own impressions are to the same effect. Our working-men are louts, and the men of the lower middle class are guys in gaudy apparel. At school the lads are clumsy, boisterous young cubs—“on pense à de jeunes dogues.” One of M. Taine’s friends confided to him a simple theory of the British constitution, founded on his observation of a game of cricket in this country. He had watched a number of lads at this sport for more than an hour and a half, and during the whole of that time they bowled, batted, and changed the field with the utmost calmness, and often in silence. He never heard a cry, or even a remark in a loud voice, or detected any sign of temper. Here we have the whole secret of British freedom. “Ces gens-là ont de l’eau dans le sang”; so of course there is no risk in allowing us to hold meetings, and to say or write anything we choose. Everybody will recollect Leech’s famous picture of the man on a bridge in Paris catching a tiny *goujon*, and the intense popular excitement and enthusiasm of the whole population of the neighbourhood at this great national triumph. This expresses in a graphic way the uppermost thought of most Englishmen on visiting France, and especially Paris, which, if candidly acknowledged, would come pretty much to this—“What a fuss these Frenchmen make about everything; what fools they must be!” In like manner Frenchmen are struck by the phlegmatic reticence and stillness of our countrymen, and assume that they have no nerves or feelings because they try to get through life with as little show of sentiment and emotion as possible. M. Taine himself was impressed by the silence and calmness of the policemen who, standing in the midst of a torrent of vehicles pouring along one of our great thoroughfares, kept the traffic in order without speaking a word, merely raising their arms now and then to give their orders, which were also obeyed quietly and silently. M. Taine is at least enough of a philosopher to understand that it saves time and economizes energy to dispense with the shrieking and jumping about in which his countrymen are fond of indulging.

Of our countrywomen M. Taine writes more favourably, at least as far as the physical part of them is concerned. Nature has done everything for them, and their simple wholesome habits of life have given nature fair play. If they only had minds, or rather *esprit*—for M. Taine allows a certain amount of common sense and practical intelligence—and knew how to dress and walk, they would be perfect. In figure and complexion, and in all the beauty which belongs to good health, they beat their French sisters. But M. Taine is rather disposed to agree with Hamilton’s sarcasm on Madame de Wetenhall, that though she had a very pretty face, it was always the same face, which might have been taken out of a case in the morning, and put back at night, without having been used all day. He is also at one with Hawthorne as to the “beefiness” of our matrons. He noticed even young women with red noses, and the more mature ones suggested *bifteck cru*. But it is their style of dressing that is most exasperating and intolerable; and in a passage which it would be a pity to translate, M. Taine breaks into the following invective:—

La beauté et la parure abondent; mais le goût manque. Les couleurs sont outrageusement crues, et les formes disgracieuses: crinolines trop bouffantes et mal bouffantes, en cônes géométriques ou bosselés, volants verts, dorures, robes à ramages, profusions de gazes flottantes, paquets de cheveux tombants on frisés; sur cet étalage, de tout petits chapeaux historiques et imperceptibles. Le chapeau est trop paré, les cheveux trop lustrés collent durement sur les tempes, le mantelet ou la casaque déborde sans forme jusque sur les hanches, la jupe pouffe monstrueusement, et tout l’échafaudage mal attaché, mal agencé, bariolé, ouvragé, crie et jure de toutes ses couleurs voyantes et surchargées.

M. Taine makes a remark about his own countrywomen which perhaps helps to explain the alleged insipidity of which he accuses their English sisters. The former, he says, are perpetually striving to attract attention, always *au port d’armes et à la parade*, while the latter have other things to think of—their families, house-keeping, works on political economy from “Moodie’s,” and other grave pursuits; and so far from yielding to coquetry, they are rather careless and defiant of the graces. M. Taine might perhaps be suspected of a little sarcasm in his description of the serious and useful literature which Englishwomen delight to study in their leisure hours, and in his assumption that fashion-books and novels are despised. But he shows a hearty appreciation of the pure, unaffected simplicity which, in spite of the girl of the period and her propaganda, is still the characteristic of a large body of our countrywomen. He is surprised that young ladies should wear spectacles in public, and should walk about in stout thick-soled boots. But nothing struck him so much as the spirit of frank companionship in which young men and women meet in society:—

I can testify from what I saw to the great liberty they enjoy. I saw

many young ladies in the morning in Hyde Park who had come for a ride attended only by a groom. In the country, where I had been on a visit two days, I was asked to give my arm to a young lady of the house, to conduct her a mile off. S—, who spent a year here, finds this loyal and free intercourse charming. “Come and see me,” said a gentleman to whom he was introduced, “I want you to know my girls!” They are the most amiable and honest companions. You ride with them, you go with them to archery meetings, you talk familiarly to them of everything, or nearly everything, you laugh with them without *arrière-pensée*; it would be impossible even for a *fat* to treat them otherwise than as his sisters. Two Frenchmen of my acquaintance dined at a house; at eleven o’clock at night they were asked to see home a couple of young girls who were there; all four set off in a cab and rode together for half an hour chatting gaily, and without any stiffness or embarrassment on either side.

M. Taine admits that this is a wholesome and desirable state of things; but he has his theory about it, of course. The difference in this respect between French and English society is accounted for by our cold damp climate, “the paradise of wild ducks,” which subdues the passions; and by the more genuine spirit of freedom in France, which places both sexes on an equality, and relieves women from the patronizing protection of the men. We should be glad to believe that this sort of equality was still distant from our shores. M. Taine’s amazement at the innocent frankness of English girls might suggest some useful reflections to the shrieking sisterhood. Of course M. Taine does not omit the usual stereotyped remarks on the pauperism of England and the startling contrast of social conditions. “Make a thousand a year, or go and hang yourself,” seemed to be the motto of English life. Wherever he went, in London, in Manchester, in the rural districts, he was shocked by the wastefulness and extravagance of all classes of English people. Everybody seemed to him to work too hard and to spend too much; and there can be no doubt that there is justice in the observation. Nothing is so much needed for the improvement of the condition of the labouring population in this country as an appreciation of the humble virtues of frugality and thrift, and it would be well not only for themselves but for society at large if the classes above them would begin by setting the example. Striking the balance of advantages and disadvantages between his own country and ours, M. Taine is not sorry that he is a Frenchman. We are better off than the French in our solid political Constitution and our religion, which are based on settled and accepted principles, whereas in France a young man on entering life finds everything thrown open to speculation, and has nothing fixed and definite to start from. On the other hand, France has her revenge in a better climate, in the more equal distribution of wealth, especially of landed property, in natural gaiety, and the gift of conversation. M. Taine pities us for nothing so much as our incapacity for conversing, after the manner of Frenchmen, “about the most exalted subjects, skipping from one to another in short pithy phrases, and briskly launching general ideas that flutter like a swarm of insects.” But it is not difficult to connect this mental effervescence and flashiness of his countrymen with that looseness of thought and instability of principle which he elsewhere deplores. On the whole, M. Taine thinks that “all these differences make the Englishman stronger and the Frenchman happier.” It is just possible that a good many Englishmen at the present time may think that they have not much reason to envy France in the matter of happiness.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

A DISCUSSION has been proceeding for the last few weeks on the subject of international copyright, and we observe that Americans who have taken part in this discussion, while asserting that their countrymen are in the right, show great sensitiveness to the harsh terms in which it has been asserted that their countrymen are in the wrong. A Correspondent of the *Times*, whose letter appeared on the 27th of September last, put the complaint of English writers with sufficient plainness when he stated that, as soon as a book is published in England which promises to remunerate its author for years of honest labour, “American pirates pounce on it, republish it, deprive the author of his legitimate profits, and prosper on the proceeds of their iniquitous trade.” This letter was answered in the columns of the same newspaper by Mr. W. J. Stillman, who asserted that the “piracy” complained of is no more American than English, as American writers have no larger rights in England than English writers have in America—which is probably true as far as it goes. Mr. Stillman further alleged that “respectable” American publishers make arrangements with English authors before publishing their books, and that the chief opposition to Anglo-American copyright comes from English publishers. A contribution to the same discussion was made a few days later by Mr. Macmillan, who stated, as the result of his own considerable experience, that “in proportion to the amount of literature produced in either country, which has a fair chance of commanding a sale in the other, there has been quite as much ‘piracy’ on this as on the other side of the Atlantic.” It is of course consistent with this statement that the number of sufferers, or the extent of suffering, in England, by “piracy,” is much greater than in America. There is, for example, the case of Mr. Erichsen, who states that 5,370 copies of his work *Science and Art of Surgery* had been purchased by the American Government for the use of its army up to the end of 1866. Mr. Erichsen, in addressing the American Minister, Mr. Adams, on this subject, while expressing a proper sense of the honour done to him by this selection of his work for American

military service, intimated that some tangible remuneration for the literary labour thus appropriated would have been acceptable. He calculates that, if 5,370 copies of his work had been purchased of his publishers, the profit would have been nearly 3,000*l*. Mr. Erichsen adds that his work has gone through three American editions, and a fourth is preparing, and it is a text-book on surgery throughout the Union. We have next a letter from Mr. W. H. Appleton, a member of an American firm of publishers, who begins by warning the English newspapers that the tone which they take in the discussion tends to impede a settlement. He states that the house he represents has been labouring for years to establish direct relations with English authors, so that they may get the entire profits of authorship on the American side. "We have not waited," says he, "for an International Copyright Law, but have practically anticipated it, and given your authors its benefits." It is to be hoped that the English newspapers will henceforward change the deplorable tone which they have adopted in this discussion, and will consider the liberality of Messrs. D. Appleton and Co. in placing English authors "on the same footing" with those of their own country. It is not to be desired, at least until the Tichborne case begins, that the correspondents of the newspapers should be logical; and therefore we do not complain that Mr. W. H. Appleton loses sight of the difference between a right secured by law and dependence on the liberality of the firm which he represents. But although Mr. Appleton writes as if he confused these two things, he sees clearly enough what it is that English authors have demanded, and he states with unmistakable distinctness the resolution of his countrymen not to grant it. He says that international copyright, while it is ostensibly demanded in the interest of English authors, is really demanded in the joint interest of English authors and publishers, and much more of the latter than the former. "Any treaty which makes the English author and the English publisher joint parties to supply us with books, if negotiated by the two Governments, would be repudiated by our people in a year." This is tolerably plain speaking, and it seems to render further discussion almost useless. The Americans "believe earnestly in their policy of cheap books, and will not expose it to the peril threatened by an English publisher's copyright." Mr. Appleton seems to say, in effect, that an English author may, if he pleases, publish with his firm, or with any other American firm that he may choose; and if he does not please, he will get no protection. If Mr. Appleton truly represents the feeling of the American people, we do not see how even the dullness of the recess could be an excuse for keeping alive this discussion longer. "The inhabitants of the United States now number nearly 40,000,000 people, and they are eminently a book-buying people. The American market for English books is already great, and is destined to become immense. I believe that our people would rejoice to open this vast opportunity to your intellectual labourers. They are not ungrateful; they know the extent of their obligations to your thinkers, and they will be glad to do them justice when the way is shown."

If further controversy were likely to produce any good result, the opposite side of the question could not be better stated than it has been by Mr. F. R. Daldy, of the firm of Bell and Daldy, in a letter which has been also published in the *Times*. If an author arranges with one publisher in London for England, and with another in New York for America, it is probable that he will get less from the two together than he would if he could make a single arrangement for both countries with only one. Here Mr. Daldy appears to us to state accurately what would be the effect of Mr. Appleton's proposal. But perhaps the author might get more under this proposal than he would if no arrangement at all were made. As regards the greater number of books which are published, there is no strong reason why they should not be printed in New York as well as in London. But in the case of the minority of books which contain expensive plates, it would seem to be sheer waste of money to prepare one edition here and another in America. The only useful practical result of the proposal would be that publishing firms would be induced to establish branch houses to a greater extent than has yet been done, so that an English writer might be able to make one arrangement to serve both for London and New York. The Americans say in effect that if they supply the customers, the profits of the trade shall go to American houses; and even if they are economically wrong in so resolving, it will not avail much to prove it. The most conclusive demonstration of the advantages of free trade would not prevent certain classes of manufacturers among ourselves from imposing protective duties on foreign goods if they had the opportunity. Mr. Daldy is, however, right in pointing out that the literary and scientific character of America must suffer by a system to which, according to Mr. Appleton, she is determined to adhere. In the absence of international copyright American authors cannot receive the due reward of their labours; for it is but natural that the American publisher should prefer embarking in a speculation in which all the profit goes into his own pocket, as is the case with most English reprints, to speculating in an American book, for which he must needs give the author some share of the profit, however inadequate. The Americans, though an intelligent and active-minded people, can never have a literature worthy of their greatness till an international copyright secures American authors against the competition they are unfairly called on to sustain with literature which in most cases the American publisher gets without any outlay for copyright whatever. Thus Mr. Daldy puts the argument, and, as we think, forcibly; but it is to be

feared that in America the commercial view of the question is likely to prevail over that which has regard to the intellectual character of the nation. We have not ourselves used the term "piracy," and it may be admitted that that term is not properly applicable to American reprints of English books. But it expresses with tolerable accuracy the sentiments which many people feel when they hear of such appropriations of English labour for American benefit as that mentioned by Mr. Erichsen. A similar case is brought forward by Messrs. Griffin and Co., who state that a book on seamanship published by them has been adopted by the American Government as a text-book for young officers without acknowledgment. If these two cases are truly stated, Americans cannot reasonably complain if harsh language is used by English newspapers in reference to this subject; and, indeed, we are not quite sure that the harsh language may not have a good effect. Americans are very sensitive to the public opinion of Europe, and especially of England; and if the American Government has benefited without acknowledgment by the writings of Englishmen, it can hardly excuse itself by arguing that there can be no piracy of that which is not property. But if America is determined only to concede international copyright on her own terms, it will be necessary either to accept those terms or to leave things as they are. It is to be feared that in this matter New York will show some trace of the spirit of her founders, and that in dealing for international copyright her publishers will display the fault of the Dutch in

Giving too little and asking too much.

THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT AND THE BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT.

WHEN we referred some weeks ago to the manifesto of Herr von Lutz, Minister of Worship and Education in Bavaria, addressed to the Archbishop of Munich, we observed that much would depend on the practical interpretation given to that document by the subsequent conduct of the Government; and we pointed to the approaching convocation of the Chambers as sure to result in a more explicit declaration of their policy. That expectation has been now fulfilled. The meeting of the Chambers was followed in a few days by a question, which elicited from the same Minister an elaborate declaration in the shape of a speech—we might almost say an essay—occupying a whole sheet of the *Kölnische Zeitung*. It lays down with unmistakable distinctness the view taken by the Government of the Vatican Council and its decrees, and the attitude they intend to maintain towards the rival parties in the Church. On both points Herr von Lutz says all that the *Altkatholiken* could desire. So precise, indeed, and so detailed is his exposition of the grounds for rejecting the validity of the Council, that we can hardly resist the conviction of his having studied the exhaustive criticisms of Dr. Reinkens, if he has not personally consulted the leaders of the movement. The feeling among the German Catholic laity must be a very strong one when it finds so emphatic an expression from the Ministerial bench. For a great part of the speech might have been delivered, and in fact reproduces the substance of what was delivered, by opposition bishops in the Council. Before entering on the directly political aspects of the question, the speaker dwelt at considerable length on the theological merits of the new dogma, in order to show that it had no binding authority over the Catholic conscience; and then he repeated more fully what he had said in his previous manifesto about the contradictory pronouncements of the bishops before and after the issue of the July decree, guarding his statements in each case with a series of quotations, of which it cannot have been very pleasant for their authors to be reminded. Indeed a more damaging exposure of the ex-opposition prelates, many of whom have become the bitterest persecutors of the faith which till a few months ago they professed their resolution to defend, can hardly be conceived. One by one they are led out, as it were, in a kind of solemn war-dance, and compelled to curse the doctrines which they now curse everybody for rejecting. *Ex ore tuo te judico* may be taken as the motto of this portion of the speech. Let us give a few specimens of it.

First and foremost of course come the two Fulda pastorals, issued within less than a year of each other, of which the first declares by direct and studied implication that Papal infallibility never can be and never will be defined; and the second enjoins on the faithful "a full and unreserved acceptance" of the doctrine as "the unanimous and undoubted tradition of the Church based on divine revelation." Then we have Bishop Ketteler of Mayence, now one of the most violent and abusive of the infallibilist zealots, declaring "non posse definiri illam personalem et a totâ Ecclesiâ independentem infallibilitatem." And this declaration is backed by the official Protest of the minority on May 8, 1870, signed by the Archbishop of Munich, who only the other day excommunicated a fresh batch of Dr. Dollinger's followers for adhering to it, and is publicly praised in the Pope's last Allocution for his "remarkable writings" in defence of the dogma. Next come a string of extracts from the *Synopsis Animadversionum* of the opposition bishops. One maintains that the dogma is "almost or altogether unknown to the faithful," and another that the teaching authority is always held to reside in the Pope together with the bishops. Bishop Crementz of Ermland, who is now engaged in a hot contest with the Prussian Government in the interests of infallibilism, and is excommunicating Old Catholics right and left, states that "in several dioceses of Germany,

France, Bohemia, Hungary, and elsewhere, the doctrine is not even known by name, and that in his own diocese of Ermeland it has never been taught in catechisms or sermons, and is unknown in the schools of theology." The oft-quoted testimony of all the English and Irish Roman Catholic bishops at the time of Catholic Emancipation, on which Bishop Clifford laid great stress in the Council, is naturally referred to. In an official declaration, signed by thirty bishops in 1826, the doctrine is expressly and solemnly repudiated in the name of the Catholics of Ireland. The testimony of catechisms and theological manuals used in Bavaria is quoted to the same effect. Indeed the best proof of that may be found in the fact that these German catechisms are now being altered by direction of the bishops. In some cases alterations had been made previously under Jesuit influence. We may observe, by the way, that it is rather curious that Archbishop Manning has not yet ventured on attempting a similar step in England.

The practical conclusion from this exordium could hardly be doubtful. If the new dogma had no claim on the respect of the State on purely ecclesiastical grounds, it had something less than none when regarded in its political bearings. It was not difficult to refute the vague and verbose assurances of the Archbishop of Munich that the doctrine threatened no danger to the State. The infallible Syllabus would alone give sufficient evidence on that point, even without the quasi-infallible interpretations of its Jesuit commentators in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, with which all readers of "Janus" and "Quirinus" are familiar. The Pope has indeed declared that he has no intention of exercising the deposing power, but the very form of the announcement—which moreover was not an official one—implies that he has a full right to exercise it if he pleases. Nor can any consistent infallibilist for a moment dispute his right. It is only out of condescension to the diseased condition of modern society that this and other salutary applications of the Papal prerogative—as notably the burning of heretics—are for the present held in abeyance. As Father Schneemann has discreetly observed, the times are very evil, and the Church must be content to wait. Meanwhile the State, though it need not embroil itself in an ecclesiastical quarrel, may fairly be expected to afford the fullest protection of the law to those who are engaged in fighting the battle both of ecclesiastical and civil freedom; and such accordingly is the programme announced by the Bavarian Minister. The Government will extend to all its Catholic subjects, whether priests or laymen, who reject the Vatican decrees, complete legal protection against all misuse of spiritual power, and will maintain them in their rights and positions. This of course means that parish priests suspended by their bishops for rejecting infallibilism will be maintained, as in Prussia, in possession of their churches, and of all rights and emoluments appertaining thereto. As regards education, the Government will recognise the rights of the *Altkatholiken* to secure the religious education of their children. And as regards the crucial question of the position of Old Catholic congregations, several of which have already been formed, they will be acknowledged as Catholics, and the priests officiating in them treated as Catholic priests. This, we presume, will settle the important point of the legal validity of marriages solemnized by Dr. Friedrich and other priests of the same party, about which considerable doubts were entertained. Herr von Lutz further declared the resolve of the Government to repel by constitutional means all attacks on the rights of the State. The legal protection thus accorded seems already to have been taken advantage of at Munich, where mass has been celebrated every Sunday in the little chapel of St. Nicholas, which was used during the recent Congress, by anti-infallibilist priests. It is said also that the parish priest of Mering, a village near Munich, who supplied Dr. Friedrich with the sacramental oil for administering unction to the excommunicated Dr. Zenger, has now applied to the Archbishop of Utrecht to administer the sacrament of Confirmation in his church, the Bishop of Augsburg having refused to do so. Elsewhere, too, congregations of Old Catholics have been regularly established.

To one point, on which considerable stress was laid by speakers at the Munich Congress, Herr von Lutz does not appear to have referred. We mean the expulsion of the Jesuits from the country. To English ears such a demand sounds strange enough, and little in accordance with the principles of religious liberty. It must, however, be remembered that Continental notions on these matters are very different from ours, and that the Government exercises a far more stringent control over all details affecting education than would be tolerated here. The Jesuits, moreover, have always, and not unreasonably, been looked upon by foreign States as something more than merely a religious community. They have habitually aspired, and not unfrequently attained, to a directly political influence in Roman Catholic countries. During the greater part of Louis XIV.'s reign they virtually governed the French Church, through the instrumentality of the King's mistresses, who named the successors to all vacant bishoprics. And, although they have not yet wholly recovered the shock of a forty years' suspension of the Order, during which it had nearly died out, between the suppression under Ganganelli and the restoration by Pius VII., in 1815, they have already reached more than half their original numbers, and their influence over the Court of Rome and the entire administrative machinery of the Church was never greater than it has been during the last twenty years. Between them and their rivals within their own communion the contest is not one simply of opinion, to be decided by moral forces. It is a combat

between a vast organization admirably drilled, with the Papacy at its back, and nearly the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy, either from fear or favour, under its control, and a party who have nothing to rely upon but the force of argument and the moral persuasiveness of truth. When, therefore, the Jesuits appeal in self-defence to the principle of religious liberty, it is something like a Fenian appealing against the suspension of Habeas Corpus to the outraged majesty of the law. We are not arguing that they ought to be outlawed by the German Governments, but we do say that the question is not one to be decided by the ordinary commonplaces of English liberalism, or the traditions of English jurisprudence. And it is not wonderful that a peculiar bitterness against the Order should be felt by liberal members of their own Church, who know how completely the whole policy of the present Pontificate, since the return from Gaeta and the transformation of Pio Nono from a well-meaning though shallow reformer into a stupid and fanatical despot, is due to their sinister machinations. They have their reward; for the Roman Catholic Church is reduced for the present to the condition of a catspaw of the children of Loyola; but they must not marvel if sharp things are said against them in the reaction from a tyranny which allows no man to call his soul his own. It is in Italy and Germany, through their settlement at Maria Laach, that they are strongest. In France the cause of Ultramontanism is just now in the ascendant, through the action of political events which have given an exceptional prominence to the Latin element of the national sentiment and belief. The Pope appears at last, after a somewhat inexplicable delay, to have "preconised" his French and Italian bishops, when he also took the opportunity of denouncing "the impious temerity and perversity" of those "sons of perdition," the Old Catholics of Germany. We shall watch with some curiosity the first proceedings of the new Archbishop of Paris, who is a feeble but fervent adherent of the infallibilist side. It is supposed that he will lose no time in exacting from his clergy a formal submission to the Vatican decrees, and it remains to be seen whether the Parisian priests, many of whom are known to be at heart staunch anti-infallibilists, will follow the ignoble precedent of too many of their German brethren, or stand to their colours and brave the episcopal malediction. Bishops Maret and Gratry have set them a poor example; but they have a nobler model before them in their martyred Archbishop, if they choose to emulate his courage, and take on their lips his dying watchword—"for liberty and faith!"

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

THE ordinary conception of a National School is formed under favourable circumstances, drawn perhaps from a visit to some quiet country parish where an eccentric erection, built at an extravagant price by the local architect, whose ignorance on the subject exceeds even that of the squire, combines every known and unknown form of decoration, and stands in the middle of a large playground, flanked on one side by the church and on the other by the parsonage. The whole scene is idyllic; the children are neat and clean, know their names, and answer to them; the walls are covered with maps of obscure countries and islands, which have probably never been visited since their discovery; the infants present symmetrical rows of white legs and arms, as broad as they are long, sing with animation, and gesticulate with emphasis. The mistress is conversant with the alterations introduced by the New Code, has no complaints to make, and would prefer a daily inspection; while the hints suggested by the clergyman and his wife are of the most valuable nature, based as they are upon the experiences acquired by the nurture and training of a family of thirteen children. In London, however, the conditions are very different; there is no waste ground at hand, a site can only be obtained with difficulty, and when obtained is often subject to grave disadvantages. The noise of the neighbouring traffic, the tramp of the children in an upper room, or the vibration produced by the adjoining railroad, make even elementary instruction a work of some difficulty. The number of schools in the metropolis defined as public, from which returns have been received, amounts to 860, a large proportion of which are already aided by annual grants; to the remainder of them the remarks which we made on private schools apply with equal truth. Nothing is more probable than that, if the school satisfies the first of the two tests required by the Education Department—namely, the satisfactory condition of the premises in which it is held—it will still fail in the second—namely, "the qualifications of the teacher as shown by the results of the secular instruction given in the school." The reading will be mattering, the writing a scrawl, and the ciphering a blank; yet the standard of efficiency fixed upon is a low one, involving the knowledge of the "multiplication table and any simple rule as far as division" by children above ten years of age alone, who in many cases are presented in the grade below that in which they ought to have been examined. Low as it is, it will disqualify many of the schools inspected, and the anticipation of the Education Department that the standard required by them would not be generally satisfied, and "that the provision of a supply of efficient school buildings would be the main result to be expected from this part of the inquiry," will have been amply realized. In some respects this year may have been an unfortunate one, as the attendance has been rendered more than ordinarily irregular by the prevalence of small-pox. In one school forty children were absent at the same time from this cause, either having the disease themselves or in their homes. In another two of the monitors suffered from it—a state

of things not conducive to the efficiency of the instruction. Not only is scarcely any proficiency shown in extra subjects, such as grammar, history, and geography, but the presentation of children in the highest standards is of the rarest occurrence. In fact, the work of other schools, as well as that of schools in receipt of annual grants, tends to show that the regulations of the New Code provide for a degree of proficiency quite as high as is likely to be reached for some years to come. The Report of the Committee of Council for the year 1870 states that, of scholars over ten years of age, those who passed without failure in the three higher standards were only 32·86 out of 100; adding at the same time that these results, though they show a slight improvement upon previous years, are far from satisfactory. Mr. Mitchell, in his Report on a London district, says:—

In our best schools the education has not much exceeded the education given twenty years back in the best schools of that period. The caution given in 1853 may still be useful, that educationists in the pursuit of higher subjects should not endeavour to advance too rapidly. No attempts at extra branches can at all compensate for deficiency in the ordinary subjects of elementary instruction.

The inference to be drawn from this and other expressions of similar opinions is evident enough, but it is not likely to be attended to by those who desire that our population should at once enter into the highest stages of proficiency before they have mastered the earliest and the simplest. We almost wonder that no contract has as yet been made for a supply of linguists in order that the children of the poor may, though unable to satisfy their wants, have at least the satisfaction of expressing them in another language. The profession of an Inspector will soon be chosen early in life, and afford an opening for our surplus population. At the present moment his qualifications should be of the following nature, as gathered from the points on which he has to exercise his judgment. He should possess a technical knowledge of buildings, have a keen sense of smell—the only test he can apply to the question of drainage—an intimate acquaintance with the works of Mr. Moule and clear opinions on the subject, an excellent temper, great tact, and views upon needlework. It is clear that, if he were not permitted to “delegate to an assistant the duty of examining into the attendance and the proficiency of the scholars,” the work before him would be one of no ordinary difficulty. In the examination of female pupil-teachers, the opinion of a competent person is to be obtained upon the merit of the needlework; so, when cooking and swimming and physical sciences become a *sine quâ non* of elementary education, a congress of cooks and professors, itinerant philosophers and lecturers, will doubtless accompany the Inspector on his rounds, or rather the Inspectors, seeing that the London School Board has announced its intention of appointing its own officers. After the guests and scholars have swum round the swimming-bath, preceded by the pupil teachers, in a costume the designs for which will have cost several hundred pounds, a dinner will probably be provided at the expense of the unfortunate ratepayers, cooked by the children attending the school. Peremptory instructions will at the same time be issued to the philosophers not to read their own papers, on pain of eating the failures dished up by the first standard. Several independent Leagues and Societies will also send officers round to each child, to ascertain whether he has any cause of complaint against the Government, the School Board, or his parents; whether he would not like to change his school, or inspect others, and generally suggest an independent course of action to be followed out.

We are fast losing sight of the real ends of Education Acts in the midst of denominational and undenominational clamours, those ends being, we imagine, to raise the standard of life among the poorer classes, to spread the knowledge of social laws which are now only known to a few, without which no efforts to alleviate the disparity existing at present can succeed, and not to raise one party at the expense of another, or to enable a third party to congratulate itself upon having achieved a political victory. At present everything is in a transition state. Were of course an educational Utopia established, compulsory attendance universally and efficiently enforced, and all the papers read and burnt which have still to be written upon the subject, no doubt many improvements would be found practicable, and the matter might be settled upon what is called a satisfactory basis. Having regard, however, to the attitude adopted by many of the speakers at Birmingham, we cannot be very sanguine. Whatever may be the opinions held with regard to the payment of fees to denominational schools, it is hardly satisfactory that those upon whom we inflict a pecuniary loss by compelling them to send their children to school, should read in the newspapers that a county magistrate was greatly cheered for declaring that he would not pay any rate where the money was used to pay the fees in denominational schools, while others asserted “that they would take the spoiling of their goods, and some of them would go to prison.” The example of obedience to the law set by those in authority is striking indeed, and promises well for the future. The only consolation is the want of interest shown in their proceedings; for we are credibly informed that a great number of the inhabitants of Birmingham were hardly aware of the presence of the League amongst them.

Though all elementary schools were divided into the three classes of public, private, and adventure, some anomalous institutions have been reckoned amongst the number which can hardly be so classified. In some cases returns have been received from establishments, and visits paid to them, where official visitors had little or no business. In a Refuge where the youngest of the

inmates is above fifteen years of age, education becomes, as it were, a luxury out of the range of State control. If only those who have conscientious scruples against receiving information could lie hid until past the age of thirteen, we imagine that neither State nor School Board has authority to interfere with their liberty. Education in a Refuge is naturally domestic in its tendency, while the instruction must necessarily be rather of a religious than a secular character, and arithmetic be considered of secondary importance in the reclamation of a criminal. The scrupulous cleanliness of the floors, and indeed of everything which is capable of being washed, attests to the prevalence of one most desirable occupation. Cognate to the Refuge is the Home, which is generally on a smaller scale. The phraseology of a Report before us might lead the reader to suppose that little attention was paid within its walls to secular instruction. “The past year has been ‘Ebenezer’ from first to last.” The means for the work—namely, the maintenance of twenty-five destitute girls—seem to be supplied from day to day, and the Home is apparently often without funds to continue its existence another week; the most varied contributions, however, arrive—a very Noah’s Ark of subscriptions. Anti-macassars, earrings, infants’ pianofortes, smoked bacon, cotton hose, potatoes, cocoa matting, a fish-slice, meat dripping, a spirit-flask, a button-hook, and a pair of large scissors, make their appearance, together with sums of money. At one time the whole available stock in hand consists of 3d., when help arrives from “a dear Christian lady,” whose qualifying statement most persons will agree with. “Perhaps those of us who are able to help have not always the needful spiritual discernment to distribute it just in the right way, unless we know something of the circumstances.” The Report goes on to say that many sweet instances of deliverance in time of difficulty are noticed; many more are silently recorded from want of space to enlarge; while “fellowship in prayer is solicited that we may be led into a suitable house, and all things needful be supplied.” Strange to say the work done in this instance was very good; the house was small, but clean; the elder girls were engaged in domestic training, while the younger ones were being taught in the school-room. Very quiet children they mostly were, and intelligent, but stunted in their growth, and showing in their looks how hard a struggle life had been to them previously to their admission.

The varieties of educational nomenclature are surprising; there are schools of industry; middle-class academies; commercial academies, as miserable in appearance as the commercial room at an English inn, where the sons of respectable mechanics lose their time for years together; Pestalozzian schools, where the instruction given is of a character which the founder of the system could never have foreseen, in spite of the following sentence which we quote from the *Biographie Universelle*:—“La méthode de Pestalozzi suppose dans l’esprit une puissance indépendante des circonstances extérieures, et qui n’a pas besoin de leur secours.” Such a supposition would go far to excuse the present state of the educational appliances in London schools. By the end of next month all the reports on the efficiency of the schools in the metropolitan divisions should be in the hands of the Education Department, though some of those for the rural districts will probably not be completed until the spring of next year; their tabulation will show the amount of efficient school accommodation now existing, and the deficiency yet to be provided for, of which at present we can form no approximate estimate. The adventure schools as a body will theoretically be swept away, though a certain number may be deemed temporarily efficient, in consequence of their decent performance of a certain amount of work—such, for instance, as those of which Crabbe wrote:—

Where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits,
And awes some thirty infants as she knits;
Infants of humble busy wives who pay
Some trifling price for freedom through the day.
Her room is small, they cannot widely stray;
Her threshold high, they cannot run away.

Civilization has effected many changes since the year 1810, but it evidently has not in the least altered the characteristics of the dame’s school. We do not, however, see the possibility of the continued recognition of even a fraction of them. No class requires such constant supervision; yet how is the supervision to be exercised, and how is Government to prevent the use of a room by fifty children which is only capable of holding thirty? Unless the number of inspectors exceeds that of the children, they will have very much their own way. They will disappear from one place to start up again in another, and the hunt after a dame’s school will continue to be one of the most exciting among the pleasures of the chase. We have already pointed out the difficulties likely to ensue in the case of those which have been condemned, through the first “reasonable excuse” in the 74th section of the Act. Some, we fear, will be enabled to raise their terms, and to give precisely the same education in the same premises, owing to the inherent vulgarity of the British parent, unless the definition of elementary education is amended, and the present maximum of 9d. no longer adhered to. Many changes will naturally be made during the next few years, if only the present Act is given a fair trial. It has not begun its operations, yet the results which its complete success could alone produce are already required from it. The Boards have as yet hardly any data on which they can proceed. Being composed of very human and sectarian materials, it is quite possible that they may fail; but if they do so, it will only indefinitely protract the settlement of a question which, though complicated enough in Mr. Forster’s hands, would become in those of his successor simply insoluble.

OLD CLO'

THE French people have their own notions of national dignity and self-respect, and it must be confessed that these are occasionally somewhat peculiar. If *la grande nation* has somewhat fallen in the world's esteem, it is owing, not to the defeat of her armies in the field, but to the weak and childish temper of the civil population in the hour of trial. An outbreak of popular passion after the capitulation of Sedan was natural and excusable; but future disasters were clearly foreshadowed in the petty spite and cheap fury of the attacks on harmless German artisans, the cowardly freaks of the spy mania, and the wanton destruction of Imperial emblems. While the enemy was advancing unopposed, the people of the towns could think of nothing but smashing busts, plucking down eagles, and renaming streets. The wrongs of France at the hands of the Empire were heroically avenged by loathsome caricatures and filthy ballads. The Government of Defence was content to ransack the private papers at the Tuileries, and to publish garbled versions of family scandals; but M. Thiers, with more thrifty malice, is now endeavouring to turn an honest penny for the Republic by selling off the Emperor's coats and the Empress's old bonnets, and the Prince Imperial's playthings and pinafores. It has been reserved for the historian of the First Empire to become the old-clothesman of the Second. A Correspondent of the *Daily News* has furnished an interesting and highly suggestive account of this historical auction. There are some touches in the narrative which betray a feminine appreciation of the subject, and we imagine that we shall not be wrong in assuming that it is written by a lady. The first time she visited the riding-school at the Louvre, where the auction is held, she found that the Empress's dresses, laces, shawls, and mantles had already been disposed of, and that the "intimate house-linen" of the Imperial family was being offered for sale. A little lady of the Quartier Bréda type carried off half-a-dozen cambric pillow-cases in giggling triumph. "It poses one," she explained to her friends, "to have a crown on one's pillow," and her own name fortunately began with E. There was much nudging and chaffing among the brokers and students "when an inside garment was held up by two dainty little sleeves, and the public was asked to examine it, as a fair specimen of a large bale from which it was drawn at hazard." Bundles of gossamer stockings, "delicious things in the way of petticoats, flannel bustles, robes de chambre, sorties de bain, and woollen wraps," were also knocked down in rapid succession. The Correspondent was naturally shocked at this exhibition, but hastens—for she is evidently a staunch Republican—to exculpate the Government from the imputation of any exceptional want of decency in putting up such articles to public auction. In France, we are assured, nobody sees any harm in it. It is possible that the Correspondent may have beheld a baron who eats salt fish on Fridays, and who considers himself a model of piety and propriety, presiding at the sale of his mother's petticoats, and even smiling at the remarks of the peasants who were disputing for the possession of them; but this is scarcely an adequate foundation for a sweeping charge against a whole people. The baron's presence on such an occasion may have been unnecessary and indelicate; but it is probable that the French law compelling the subdivision of property left him no discretion as to the sale of his mother's effects. It may be doubted whether the Empress will derive much satisfaction from the reflection that, "when M. Thiers dies, his shirts and hosiery will be disposed of by auction, without any ceremony, by his nearest of kin." It is conceivable that M. Thiers would not be deeply affected if, even before his property passes to his executors, his socks and pantaloons were sold off for the public benefit; but a woman's feelings may be presumed to be more sensitive on so delicate a point. It may be in the fitness of things that Cæsar, dead and turned to clay, should stop a hole to keep the wind away; but Cæsar's wife may reasonably think it hard that, during her lifetime, her "intimate" clothing should be put up to public auction amid the jeers and jests of a vulgar crowd, in order to fill a gap in the Republican treasury. If it was needful that the wardrobes should be sold, it might at least have been done privately, and without turning the sale into a common show. Several baby's robes, alleged to have belonged to the Prince Imperial, were bought by a Russian lady; but a suspicion seemed to be entertained by some of the French people in the room that the articles were not authentic, but had been borrowed from some less distinguished *ladyette*. Perhaps the French people knew their own Government best, and of what tricks it was capable for the sake of raising the wind; the suspicion, however groundless, is certainly significant.

A few days ago, when the same Correspondent again looked in at the sale, the company present was more numerous than before, and our countrymen and countrywomen were distinguishing themselves by their violent bidding for whatever took their fancy. This of course sent up the prices enormously, and Republican securities should be the better for it. An Englishman struggled hard for half-a-dozen dishcloths, all patched and darned, while an Englishwoman rejoiced over the acquisition of a set of bolster-cases, the well-worn and much-mended condition of which afforded a presumption that they must have been in frequent contact with "the little Prince's head." We pass over the description of the Imperial sheets and blankets, which all fetched large prices; even "the servants' sheeting sold very high." The auctioneer was so delighted on this day that he prolonged the sale for nearly an hour beyond the usual time. It appears that not only the wardrobes of the Imperial family, but even the Prince Impe-

rial's toys and school-books, have been sold. His velocipede, his mimic guns and cannons, models of camps and fortresses, and box of tools; his Punch and Judy show, adapted to his exalted condition by the introduction of kings and queens of imaginary States into the *dramatis personæ*; his little copy-books, with German, French, English, and Italian exercises, in a fair round hand, and very neatly written; his globes and atlases, consisting, it is said, of bad maps, gorgeously bound—were all reckoned as the property of the State, and brought to the hammer. An exception is said to have been made in favour of some of the Prince's more costly presents from foreign potentates; but it is difficult to understand why the exception did not include all the little odds and ends of his boyish belongings. There is something extravagantly ludicrous as well as contemptible in the idea of a great nation pouncing on the poor lad's books and toys, and confiscating them for its own benefit. It is the wretched meanness of such an appropriation which is its worst offence. There is of course an obvious distinction between the sale of old clothes and small articles of personal property and the sale of the vast array of cooking utensils and other fittings of the palace. The number of pots and pans was so immense that the auctioneer had to sell them by the hundred-weight; and it is clear that the feeding arrangements of the Tuileries were on a scale of gargantuan profusion. The sale of these "batteries" may be taken as a pledge of more economical hospitalities on the part of the President of the new Republic, who may also have thought it desirable to remove temptation from his colleagues or successors. The Correspondent of the *Daily News* hints that the wine-cellars have been pretty well drained by so-called "ambulance requisitions" under the Government of Defence, and by undisguised drinking bouts under the Commune. Last of all, the liveries will be sold, and it is mentioned that the Imperial valets were denied the use of pockets. Their liveries were inspected once a week by a tailor, and the lackey who had a pocket in any of his garments was summarily dismissed; in the moral philosophy of the Second Empire, pockets and plunder were assumed to be synonymous.

It is stated that the auctioneer who has charge of these sales does his best to magnify the historical value of the articles which pass under his hammer, and to incite admirers of the Empire to purchase them at fancy prices. It is an odd example of what is called the irony of events that a Republican Government should thus employ an auctioneer to puff the relics of a dynasty which it has dethroned, and that admirers of the dynasty should prove their devotion to it by contributing to the funds of the Republic. That such a sale should ever have taken place at all is only another proof of the curious meanness which underlies French conceptions of national glory, as well as of that deficient sense of humour for which, in spite of all their wit, most Frenchmen are remarkable. It has been said that in France ridicule kills, but very few people there apparently comprehend what is ridiculous. France is just the country in which Louis Napoleon's tame eagle and foolish escapades were not fatal to his advancement, and not one Frenchman in a thousand saw the joke of proclaiming war for an idea, and annexing Savoy and Nice as material compensation. The grotesque absurdity of putting up the old clothes of a deposed monarch and his family to auction would in itself be sufficient to deter an English statesman from committing such a blunder, even if he were impervious to considerations of decency and self-respect. It is pretended that only what is called Civil List property is to be sold, and that the proceeds are to be applied to the payment of the personal debts of the late dynasty; but it is obvious from the list of articles enumerated by the *Daily News* Correspondent that a very wide interpretation is given to Civil List property as well as to personal debts. It is amazing that M. Thiers, with all his acuteness and his passion for the glory of France, does not perceive the extreme littleness of taking revenge on the Emperor by putting up his wife's petticoats to public auction, and handing them over to the highest bidder. The whole sum which is likely to be realized by the sale of these old clothes must, even at fancy prices, be utterly insignificant in the national budget. It is true that the Emperor's confiscation of the Orleans estates in 1852 established a precedent which might now be turned against him; but, after all, there is a difference between a claim on behalf of the public to the estates of a dynasty and a claim to its shirts and stockings. Apart from the justice of seizing upon this kind of property, the value is so paltry that the confiscation becomes a mere act of spite and not of financial administration. It is impossible, in fact, to regard this sale as a question of money, or as anything else than a petty revenge on the Empire. Even if the sale were justifiable in itself, the public manner in which it has been conducted is altogether inexcusable. It will hereafter be written that Napoleon ruled France, bringing her, for a time at least, much renown and prosperity; that he failed in a war which he had undertaken to please his people; and that they not only dethroned him, but sold off his old clothes, his wife's gowns and bonnets, and his son's playthings, in order to make a miserable contribution to the Republican treasury. And yet M. Victor Hugo assures us that France is the "Ideal nation," "the pillar of the universe, the corner-stone of progress and civilization."

STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

NEVER in British history has so much general interest in military matters existed as at present. This interest, if not created, has at all events been much increased, by the Franco-Prussian war and the recent autumn manoeuvres.

So eager has the public now become for information on all that concerns the art of war, that there is not a newspaper but devotes a considerable portion of its space to this subject. With the growth of military tastes in the nation a marked change has taken place in the qualifications of those who are employed by the press to satisfy it. The old amateur military writer, who dealt either in bald chronicles or mere sensational descriptions, has been gradually replaced by the competent and highly educated military man, who seeks not only to amuse but to instruct. Naturally the latter, dealing with a science, is, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours to popularize his productions, compelled to use many scientific and technical terms, without which terseness and precision would be unattainable. Unfortunately for the result, Englishmen, who belong rather to a warlike than a military race, are frequently puzzled by meeting with words which, for them, possess at best but a blurred and uncertain meaning. Every description of military operations is necessarily crowded with terms such as "base of operations," "line of operations," "objective point," &c., which are to the public simply incomprehensible. Even the words "strategy" and "tactics" convey to most civilians no distinct ideas. Nor is the general ignorance of mere elementary definitions much to be wondered at, for even in military treatises considerable obscurity exists as to their precise signification, and the most highly educated officers occasionally confound their meaning. A notable instance in point occurred only a few months ago. Lord Strathairn, undoubtedly one of the most skilful of our living generals, called the attention of the House of Lords to the unintelligent manner in which British officers manoeuvre. His remarks were perfectly well founded, but the curious part of the story is that he attributed the shortcomings in question to ignorance of *strategy*, whereas it is obvious that he should have said *tactics*. There is, however, this excuse for the hero of Central India, that in scientific treatises on the art of war the definitions are not only frequently wanting in precision, but are multiplied to a useless and confusing extent. In the introductory article on the *Aide-Mémoire* to the Military Sciences, an article which professes to give a *précis* of the treatises of the most eminent authorities, we find the assertion that the art of war may be considered under four principal heads—namely, *Strategics*, *Strategy*, *Logistics*, and *Tactics*. These are defined as follows:—*Strategics* is the art of embracing the lines of operations in the most advantageous manner. *Strategy* is the art of moving forces in the most efficient manner upon the primitive or accidental lines of operations. *Logistics* is the practical art of moving troops. *Tactics* consist of the manoeuvres of an army for action and in action, together with the several formations of troops for attack and defence. Not only is this minute subdivision unnecessary, but the first two definitions are, in our opinion, extremely confused and obscure. We much prefer Colonel Hamley's method of treating the subject. He describes the art of war as consisting of *strategy* and *tactics*—the former relating to the theatre of war, the latter to the field of battle. Still even this able author fails to give a simple and popular definition of the two terms in question. Let us try to supply the omission. *Strategy* may, in our opinion, be defined as the art of moving troops so as to be enabled either to dispense with a battle, or to deliver one at the greatest advantage, and with the most decisive results. *Tactics* is the art of handling troops when in actual contact with the enemy. A still simpler definition of *strategy* is that it is the art of manoeuvring troops previously to actual contact. As an illustration of our meaning, we may take the case of the commencement of the late campaign. The movements of the armies of Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles in the interval between the battles of Forbach and the battle of Mars-la-Tour were strategical operations in which the battle of Borny, on the 14th of August, was merely a tactical episode. The ultimate object was to prevent Bazaine from effecting his retreat from Metz, and the immediate object was to enable the two armies to give battle under such conditions as would ensure the desired result. As we have observed, *tactics* and *strategy* are sometimes merged into each other in a puzzling manner. For example, the operations of the German left wing on the 18th of August were tactical, but undertaken for a strategical object—i.e., that of preventing Bazaine from quitting Metz. *Tactics* and drill are also sometimes confounded with each other, though a little consideration will show what a wide distinction exists between the two. Drill is merely the mechanical training which is required for the application of tactical knowledge. A man may be a good tactician without knowing much of drill, and on the other hand he may be a perfect drill, and yet a most indifferent tactician. The Drill Sergeant bears the same relation to the tactician that the builder does to the architect; yet, distinct as the line between drill and tactics, it is frequently ignored, and the means, drill, is mistaken for the end, tactics. Without careful training in drill troops cannot be properly employed by the tactician, and, on the other hand, without tactical knowledge drill almost ceases to possess any value.

We have observed above that some of the most elementary terms employed by military writers possess little or no meaning for the general public. It may therefore not be unprofitable if we endeavour to give a concise interpretation of one or two of the terms which most frequently occur. We are convinced that some civilians look on a base as a mystical and artificial military want. If such is the case, the idea simply proceeds from not knowing precisely what the term means. A base in military operations is simply a secure starting-point, or rather tract of country behind, in which an army is in comparative safety, and in which the stores and reserves of men for the force are situated. This is the broad

definition of a base, and we need not puzzle our readers by any reference to secondary or temporary bases. When a country is invaded by a hostile expedition which arrives by sea, the invading army secures as its base one or more fortified ports. In the Crimean war Balaklava was the base of the British, Kamiesch that of the French army. In the campaign of 1815 the seaports of the Netherlands were the practical bases of the Duke of Wellington. When the Prussians last year invaded France, the fortresses on the Rhine and the country in rear of them constituted their base. After the investment of Paris, the base of D'Aurelle de Paladine's army was the Loire.

There is quite as much general confusion and uncertainty about lines of operations as about bases. A line of operations is not, as might be supposed, a single road to be taken by the army advancing, but merely the general line of direction of that army. Civilians reading about the difficulty of keeping up communications between several columns, and of effecting a concentration at the right time and place, are inclined to ask why the difficulty cannot be solved by moving the army on a single road. When Napoleon marched to Waterloo, his army consisted of 90,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 350 guns. Had he moved by a single road, the length of the column would have been forty-one miles; and had the front been attacked, it would have taken the rear two days to come to its assistance. Recognising this fact, Napoleon advanced on three roads. There are other reasons for making use of several roads. In the first place, it would be impossible to subsist a large force marching on a single road; and, in the second place, the enemy making use of a parallel road would be enabled to intercept communications and cut off convoys.

The "objective point" is to general readers a mysterious term, but its meaning may be easily explained. The objective point is simply the point by establishing himself at which a general obtains some decisive result. The result may either be complete in itself or lead to one which is complete. The objective point may be either the passage over a river, a pass in a chain of mountains, a fortress the possession of which ensures the subjection of the surrounding district, the junction of two rivers or of several roads or railways, or the capital of the country. In the campaign of 1805 some spot between Ulm and Vienna was Napoleon's objective point. In the late campaign in France the objective point was Mars-la-Tour, while later on it was Paris.

In our attempt to explain the meaning of some of the most elementary terms in the art of war we have endeavoured to restrict ourselves to primary and simple significations. Our definitions are, however, capable of almost infinite amplification and modification. Were we to plunge more deeply into the subject, we should be betrayed into an elaborate treatise on the art of war, and into carrying our readers further than either they would desire or than we intend. Our aim has been to give merely such simple explanations as will enable the non-military public to comprehend ordinary descriptions of warlike operations. We refer those who wish completely to master the subject to the exhaustive treatise of Colonel Hamley, or the more elementary work of Colonel Patrick MacDougal.

THE TEMPEST AT THE QUEEN'S THEATRE.

THE successful production of the *Tempest* at the Queen's Theatre may be accepted as an indication that the legitimate drama, having reached its lowest point of depression, is beginning to revive in England. It happens that this play is peculiarly suitable for that combination of good acting with striking pictorial effect which alone is likely to attract the public sufficiently to sustain a manager who desires to promote dramatic art without incurring pecuniary loss. We can hardly expect the *Tempest* to be better performed at present than it is at the Queen's Theatre; but if the manager receives the support which he deserves, it would be possible after a year or two to revive a play of Shakspeare even more successfully than has now been done. Let us, in the first place, dwell upon that which is most obvious and important, that this is a successful revival beyond possibility of mistake. Whatever happens in the boxes and stalls, the pit and gallery will be filled for many weeks to come by the popularity of the monster Caliban, who, with the help of his tipsy companions Stephano and Trinculo, gives all the force that could be expected to one of the most comic scenes in Shakspeare. When this play was written, it would have seemed quite credible to an audience that the adventurous comrades of Drake or Cavendish might have landed upon an island which two-legged, or even four-legged, Calibans inhabited. "What have we here," says Trinculo, when he encounters the prostrate form of Caliban, "a man or a fish?" He inclines to the opinion which the "ancient and fish-like smell" indicates. But observing the monster's legs and arms, he concludes that he is not a fish, but an islander who has been lately killed by a thunderbolt. The storm coming on, he creeps for shelter under the monster's gaberdine. "Misery," says he, "acquaints a man with strange bedfellows." Stephano now enters singing, with a bottle of sack in his hand, which he has filled from a cask washed ashore. Hearing the groans of Caliban, and observing movements under the doubly-tenanted garment, he infers that "this is some monster of the isle with four legs, who hath got, as I take it, an ague." He determines to give him relief from his bottle, hoping to tame him and carry him to Naples, where he would be a present for an emperor. "If he have never drunk wine afore, it will go near to

might be inscribed upon the resting-place of the rival of Gustavus Adolphus, as it might be written upon a still more splendid memorial of disappointed ambition, the tomb of Charles the Bold at Bruges. Nor is it merely the fact that Christian IV., and with him Denmark, missed the glory of standing before Europe as the victorious champion of the Reformed faith, which obscures the lustre of his actual achievements. If that glory fell to a neighbour then bitterly hated, a modern Dane can console himself with the knowledge that Sweden derived little lasting advantage from the triumphs of her great King; and that, by adding to his Baltic conquests an attempt to make his country a great Power, Gustavus Adolphus laid the foundation of a policy which ended with the loss of the position to which Sweden was naturally destined in the Baltic North. The fatal jealousy between these two Scandinavian kingdoms is, happily for their future, all but a thing of the past; but Sweden no more than Denmark can look back with real satisfaction to the Thirty Years' War. On the other hand, the reign of Christian IV. was also the closing period of aristocratic monarchy in Denmark. It was the peculiar lot of his successor, Frederick III., to be made an absolute sovereign by a popular revolution; and so surely as there is a sequence of events in history, it was the establishment of absolutism in Denmark which led to the unfettered development of the democratic principle there, and to the results which the action of that principle has had for the history of the monarchy. Thus, for good and for evil, Denmark broke with her past on the morrow of the reign of one of the most illustrious of her sovereigns. And, as a memorial, so to speak, of this rupture, there was to be seen even in this century a "pillar of shame" erected at Copenhagen to dishonour the name of Christian IV.'s most powerful Minister, Count Corfitz Ulfeldt, the Oxenstierna of Denmark, as he has been proudly called. And before us lies at this moment another memorial of indubitable genuineness and singular interest, consisting of a narrative written by that Minister's wife, the favourite daughter of King Christian IV., concerning her two-and-twenty years' captivity, spent in a foul prison-chamber of the Royal palace at Copenhagen. It is not without a certain feeling of shame that even an Englishman can peruse this remarkable memoir; for it was by the contemptible baseness of an English sovereign that this noble lady was delivered into the hands of her gaolers. The extradition of political suspects is naturally enough peculiarly repugnant to our national feeling; and though we may decline all "solidarity" with the act of a Stuart, committed in the dark, and, as far as we know, unnoticed by any English historian or contemporary memoir-writer, it is not pleasant to be reminded that the captivity of one of the most heroic women who have ever suffered from tyranny and spite should have begun on the English coast, and probably in order that an English sovereign might permanently escape the payment of a pecuniary debt.

Leonora Christina was the daughter of King Christian IV., and of a lady who was not, as has been loosely asserted, his mistress, but his morganatic wife. The conclusion of this alliance seems to have been rather an act of prudence than the reverse on the part of the King; for six children had sprung from his first marriage with a Brandenburg princess, and the succession being thus ensured, it seemed well not to saddle the country with another family of princes and princesses. Inasmuch as thirteen children blessed the left-handed marriage of the King with Kirsten Munk, the event proved his foresight. Of these, Leonora Christina, like her mother a titular Countess of Schleswig-Holstein, became her father's favourite. In an age when proficiency in languages was far more necessary in high society than it is at the present day, and when versatility of accomplishments stood in the stead of a general higher culture, she must have been a marvel of linguistic knowledge and curious acquirements. She spoke as many languages as Mary Tudor herself, and seems to have possessed a mechanical genius which might have been envied by Rudolf II. or Louis XVI. Afterwards, in the dreary hours of her imprisonment, she would convert a fish-bone into a pocket-knife, and a lump of clay into a series of ornamental drinking-cups; she made embroidery with the threads which she had drawn out of her clothes, and wrote her diary in a beautiful hand with ink manufactured out of beer and soot. But she possessed higher gifts than inventive ingenuity and manual dexterity. She is said to have played both the harp and the flute; and that she was a poetess of no mean merit is proved by the religious hymns interspersed through her diary, which even in a translation have something of the ring of Paul Gerhard. Nor were her literary talents confined to sacred poetry; she also composed an autobiographical sketch, besides other prose and some satiric verse, for which last she was qualified by a ready wit and sly humour which her misfortunes were unable to quell. If even in her dungeon she was more than a match for all attempts to scare or outwit her, and could in her old age divert herself by a use of her social gifts among the most unsuitable of companions, we may well believe that in the days of her youth and prosperity she was the brightest ornament of her father's Court. As such, it is not wonderful that she should have contrived to make some unforgiving enemies in her own sex, and to have attracted the admiration of the foremost men in the brilliant society of Copenhagen.

Of these the most distinguished was Corfitz Ulfeldt, the son of the Chancellor of the Realm. His early life had been one of adventure; but though he had quarrelled with his father, he had contrived to recover his favour, and to attract the favourable notice of the King. Though the Peace of Lübeck in 1629 had

put an end to Christian IV.'s lofty schemes of heading a successful resistance against the House of Hapsburg, Denmark remained powerful and prosperous after its conclusion, and the public service attracted many men of talent into its ranks. Among these Corfitz Ulfeldt had already obtained a prominent place when, by generously advocating the cause of the King's wife, who had been accused of infidelity, he gained the enduring respect of the sovereign, and the heart of his daughter Leonora Christina. His quasi-royal marriage, and his elevation to the double post of Grand Chamberlain of the Realm and Marshal of the nobility, made him the first subject in the kingdom. His diplomatic skill ensured to Denmark fair terms in the peace which concluded Christian's last Swedish war; and at the head-quarters of statesmanship, the Hague, he succeeded, during delicate negotiations with the States and France, in conciliating the admiration of his hosts. The good understanding brought about between Denmark and Holland was, as Sir William Temple afterwards attested, the keynote of the foreign policy of the former Power in this period of her history.

In 1648, the year which closed the great war in which he had in vain endeavoured to play a decisive part, King Christian IV. died, and was succeeded by his second son, Frederick III. Denmark was at that period still constitutionally an elective monarchy, though practically the crown had for two centuries regularly descended in the House of Oldenburg. To a nobleman in the position of Ulfeldt a strong temptation therefore offered itself of taking advantage of the situation; but, though there is some evidence of his having entertained the design of elevating himself or his wife to the throne, he contented himself with heading the nobility in forcing Frederick, as the condition of his election, to raise the privileges of their order to an unprecedented height. A handle was thus given to his enemies to work upon the jealousies of the new sovereign against the still omnipotent Minister; and those jealousies were eagerly fanned by the new Queen, Sophia Amalia. She belonged to an ambitious and hard-headed House; for she was the sister of Ernest Augustus, the first Elector of Hanover, and the aunt of our George I. The House of Lüneburg was not in the seventeenth any more than in the eighteenth century noted for its love of constitutional restrictions; and Sophia Amalia from the first seems to have been animated by a thorough hatred of the powerful Marshal and his consort, whose father, Christian IV., had, through the efforts of her father, Duke George of Lüneburg, lost the fatal battle of his earlier career, the battle of Lutter. But to an ambitious woman, and, above all, to an ambitious Queen, the rivalry, real or supposed, of another woman, would have sufficed as a motive for undying hatred; and the question of Ulfeldt's overthrow became only a question of time and opportunities at the Danish Court.

The first attempt, which we are obliged to pass over briefly, was made through the instrumentality of a lady wholly without reputation, who was induced to swear to a design on the part of Ulfeldt and his wife of murdering the King, revealed to the witness under circumstances which we cannot venture either to state or to paraphrase. The lie was disproved, and the false witness beheaded; but a remnant of suspicion lingered in the King's mind, and he permitted the Queen to give to Leonora Christina unmistakable marks of the Royal disfavour. Instead of braving the coming storm, Ulfeldt took his departure with his wife to Holland; and was in his absence deprived of all his offices, while his lands were confiscated. He found warm friends both in Queen Christina of Sweden and in her ambitious successor, Charles Gustavus; and when, in 1657, war broke out between the two kingdoms—it was the famous war in which the Swedish army marched across the ice of the Great Belt and of the straits between Fünen and Zealand—Ulfeldt acted as the Swedish King's adviser. In the peace which concluded the war a condition was inserted that all Ulfeldt's lands should be restored to him; and he thus once more returned to Copenhagen. But he soon retired into Schonen; and though he took no part in the second war between Sweden and Denmark, which soon ensued through the restless ambition of the Swedish King, he failed to succeed in steering a clear course between the two monarchs, and was finally seized by the Swedes and accused of high treason as a disloyal inhabitant of a district now in their possession. It was on this occasion that his wife first gave proof of her heroic devotion; for when he, to escape the necessity of defending himself in court, resorted to the desperate expedient of pretending to have lost the use of his tongue, she boldly came forward as his advocate, and by her eloquence at all events delayed his condemnation.

The death of Charles Gustavus put an end to the schemes in which in their earlier stage there can be no doubt that Ulfeldt had taken part. Charles Gustavus was succeeded by a boy, and the audacious attempts to bring about by force a Scandinavian union were exchanged for constitutional struggles. But while these struggles in Sweden led to no vital change, in Denmark the last hour of the aristocratic system had come, doubtless hastened by the conduct of the former leader of the nobility. Ulfeldt himself, who had ventured to visit Copenhagen, found it in the crisis which ended in the declaration of the hereditary sovereignty of the Royal House. The first act of the now absolute King was to seize the persons of Count Ulfeldt and his wife, who were imprisoned for fifteen months in the island of Bornholm. A bold attempt at flight—the heroic Countess had manufactured ropes and a sail out of the linen in their chamber—only led to their joint confinement being followed by a still bitterer term of solitary

duration. Finally they were released, the Count having consented to surrender all his landed property (except that belonging to his wife in her own right), to forgive the King a large debt, and to swear an oath of allegiance.

Though Ulfeldt had been bound down not to quit Denmark without the Royal permission, he obtained leave in 1662 to visit the baths of Aix-la-Chapelle, whence he paid a visit to Paris. Suspicion was aroused by this proceeding; and the wrath of his enemies in Copenhagen was further excited by an event in which he most assuredly had no share. One of his sons had in Holland stabbed to death the former gaoler of his parents. No connexion could exist between this act and the proceedings of Ulfeldt, nor is there any proof of these having assumed a treasonable character. The most dangerous of his intrigues was said to have consisted in overtures to the Elector of Brandenburg for seizing the Danish throne. No evidence exists on the subject; and we may venture to express a belief that at no period of his career would the great Elector have been less likely to listen to such an overture than at this. But, whether in spite of his oath Ulfeldt had actually engaged in a desperate endeavour to oust the dynasty which had overthrown him, or whether he was merely playing with intrigues which he had no longer the force to direct to an actual issue, there was no difficulty at Copenhagen as to convicting him in his absence. In July 1663 he was publicly sentenced to be beheaded and quartered; and a series of vindictive additions to the sentence was crowned by the erection of a pillar in the place of his levelled palace, "to the eternal shame and dishonour of the traitor Corfitz Ulfeldt." A price being set on his head, he fled to Switzerland, and thence down the Rhine; and it was while he was endeavouring to escape unobserved by the waters of that river that death overtook him. That his career will ever receive a just appreciation it is difficult to expect; for the materials are wanting from which to decide whether baffled ambition made him an actual traitor in his last years. His participation in the great attack of Sweden upon Denmark, on the other hand, is proved. A Danish patriot may find it impossible to forgive the counsellor of Charles Gustavus, although he had been the Minister of Christian IV.; and German historians may have no admiration to spare for one of the schemers of that Scandinavian union which, if accomplished in the seventeenth century, might have proved an all but insurmountable obstacle to the growth of the Prussian monarchy. As Schillersays of Wallenstein, with whom it has naturally suggested itself to a descendant of two great statesmen branded as traitors by national history to compare Ulfeldt:—

Dim is his outline on the historic page;

and we fear the day is distant when more light will be thrown upon this obscure episode and doubtful character of Scandinavian history, and when a better defence can be established for Corfitz Ulfeldt than that there can have been nothing ignoble in the loved and trusted husband of so noble a wife.

That wife had not been privileged to share the last and bitterest struggles of her doomed husband. A harder fate had befallen her, of which she was herself to become the historian. During her husband's last absence from Denmark she had, at his request, undertaken a journey to England, there to claim from King Charles II. the repayment of a large sum of money lent to him by Count Ulfeldt before the King's restoration. Charles, it need hardly be said, promised payment, and failed to pay. Leonora Christina at last resolved to abandon her fruitless efforts, and was preparing to quit England, when emissaries of Queen Sophia Amalia arrived to demand the extradition of the Countess, on the ground of her knowledge of her husband's intrigues. Although a safe-conduct had been promised her by King Charles, he allowed the Danish ambassador to arrest her at Dover, whence she was transported to Copenhagen. Leonora Christina, it should be added, was the kinswoman of her betrayer; for Queen Anne, the consort of James I., was the sister of Christian IV.

In the prison called the Blue Tower, which had been added by Christian IV. to the Royal palace, his daughter was confined as a prisoner of State for a term of two-and-twenty years. Whatever might have been the causes of suspicion which led to her imprisonment, there can be no doubt that its endurance, and the hardships with which it was accompanied, were the result of the inveterate hatred of a woman. Not until the death of Queen Sophia Amalia was the hour of liberation to strike for Ulfeldt's devoted wife, for not even the accession of Christian V., in 1670, brought her more than a passing ray of hope. Nor was it only by subjecting her enemy to a quarter of a century of imprisonment that the Queen attempted to satiate her lust of vengeance. Every little attempt to alleviate the tedium or soften the asperity of the prisoner's condition was made either without the Queen's knowledge or against her express directions. To her, too, as can hardly be doubted, must be ascribed the traps set to induce the Countess to attempt an escape, which attempt, if actually made, would have seemed to necessitate an increase in the severity of treatment applied to her. But the prisoner was proof against these temptations; as she tells us, she was aware that any misconduct on her part might deprive of their maternal inheritance the children whom she was not to see for so many years, whom she could never hope to see again, and for whom she wrote, as a legacy of love, the narrative of her confinement.

This narrative, which was first published in the original Danish by the piety of a descendant, John Count Waldstein, has now appeared in a German translation by M. Ziegler, which makes it

accessible to a wider circle of readers. In this form it is accompanied by a well-written historical introduction, upon which we have mainly based the foregoing sketch. A more interesting contribution to the curiosities of historical literature it would not be easy to imagine. But the book has a deeper significance than this. Were it, as it well deserves, translated into English, many squeamish tastes would doubtless be offended by the very undeniable realism of the writer of these unique prison memoirs. Leonora Christina, though a poetess and an authoress, who found consolation of a secondary kind in narrating the lives of women hardly more heroic than herself, was at the same time a child of her times, and an observer who looked at, and described, things as they were. But though her diary is not that of a "fair soul"—or whatever else may be the correct translation of *eine schöne Seele*—it is that of as true and noble-hearted a lady as was ever imagined by poet or novelist. Nothing would ever wring from her a word to hurt her lord, or, when she had at last become convinced of his death, to damage his memory. The Danish historian Holberg relates that rumour gave a strange reason for the cause of the mysterious sympathy existing between Leonora Christina and her absent husband, which enabled her to contradict repeatedly false reports of his death, and, on the other hand, immediately to become conscious of the reality when that death had actually taken place. The fact, to which the Countess herself testifies, was attributed to a "transfusion" of her husband's blood into her arm. Against her constancy all the endeavours of her persecutors proved futile. She was diligently plied by the inquisitorial skill of the chief Ministers of the realm; they could draw tears from her, but no revelations. Though all hope had left her, she never gave way to despair. Her piety and the consciousness of her innocence were her best consolations; and she never allowed herself to sink beneath her affliction. She was guarded and attended by personages of almost grotesque coarseness; but they were awed by her simple dignity, at the same time that more than one of them was won by her cheerful readiness to sympathize where sympathy was possible. Like a true Northern woman, she recognised that the chief danger threatening her mental and spiritual life was the lethargy which inactivity produces; and this danger she set herself to overcome with unflinching resolution and indefatigable inventiveness. She watched and described the habits of some silkworms which had been given her; she cured a dog whose recovery seemed impossible. Her attendants could not help abetting her in some of her devices to make her life endurable; and she never lost her mastery over these people, for her observation of character was wonderfully swift and correct; and as a mere study of life these records of a prison-chamber are worth many an ambitious sketch of the manners and customs of her times. The drunken warder, the prisoners who roar out consolatory psalms till requested to sing more softly, the graduated series of female attendants—from one "untrue, impious, lying, and immoral," to another "Christian, faithful, true, and good, nay, only too good"—the insolent prisoner who, by sheer vivacity of disposition, gains an authoritative influence over the warder, and insists upon having roast meat put into his pouch, are characters drawn from the life, and as true to nature as the Court ladies who visit the Countess from mixed motives of compassion and curiosity, and one of whom, venturing to insult the prisoner by an indiscreet query, receives as an answer an allusion to her own past history, proving that a little friendly malice was the last infirmity of the brave Countess.

We have not sought to ascribe to these remarkable memoirs a romantic charm which they do not possess. Their charm is in their freshness; their moral is the simple truth that there is a wondrous strength in a noble and pious spirit and a healthy mind. It would be unfair not to add a tribute to the labours of M. Ziegler, the author of the German version of the diary. He has succeeded in giving to his translation all the vigour of an original personal narrative, till it becomes at times difficult to remember that Countess Ulfeldt wrote in Danish. Count Waldstein, at whose cost the work has been produced in sumptuous style, has removed in a preface all possible doubts as to the genuineness of the original MS. in his possession. It was his duty to the public to make this statement, which, however, will hardly be felt to be needed by any reader of these memoirs. For, supposing them to have been a forgery, there is only one hand which could have forged them. On internal evidence they prove themselves genuine, as there is no possibility of connecting their composition with Defoe.

THEODORE PARKER'S HISTORIC AMERICANS.*

WHATEVER view may be taken of the political and theological principles of which Theodore Parker was an unflinching advocate, it will be generally admitted that he possessed one of the most vigorous intellects which have appeared in his time in America. Whether his doctrines be right or wrong, he proclaimed them eloquently and consistently at a time when they were intensely distasteful to the mass of his fellow-countrymen. Regarded from a purely literary point of view, there is something attractive about the clear directness of his style. He goes straight to the point, without circumlocution or evasion; if we disagree with him, we must at least admit him to be a satisfactory opponent; and he frequently rises to no inconsiderable height of manly elo-

* *Historic Americans*. By Theodore Parker. London: Trübner & Co. 1871.

quence. These qualities are evident in the present volume of the collected edition of his works, which contains four lectures on the heroes of the revolutionary struggle in America. They were delivered, it seems, in 1858—at a time, that is, when the symptoms of the approaching struggle were becoming palpable even to superficial observers. Written under such circumstances, they naturally bear the marks of the writer's passionate interest in the questions of the day. Franklin, Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, the subjects of the four lectures, are regarded as embodying certain lessons which he considered as specially needful for his countrymen. We need hardly add that it is impossible to read them without being reminded that the lecturer is a staunch Abolitionist, and what is called a pure Theist, at every line. This fact may attract some readers and repel others. We shall not, however, deal with the validity of the inferences which he draws or intends his readers to draw as to the merits of his creed. The lectures, in fact, have an interest which is independent of those important issues. They are attempts by a very able American to give distinct, though compressed, portraits of four of the great celebrities to which American patriots are in the habit of appealing; and though it might be interesting to inquire what was the relation of such men as Franklin and Washington to slavery and to the religious ideas of their time, their histories possess an interest of a different, and perhaps at the present time a more important, kind. Thus much may be remarked in passing, that all these able men seem, as was natural, to have underrated the influence upon future American history of questions connected with slavery, and, on the whole, to have anticipated its gradual and peaceful extinction. From a theological point of view, it is worth noticing that, although they all treated the religion of their country with studied respect, they seem generally to have felt the influence of the revolutionary philosophy of their time. Jefferson, Adams, and Franklin were all Freethinkers, and even Washington, though he took little interest in speculative questions, seems to have been inclined to the same sentiments.

The fact is of some importance in considering the significance of the American revolution; but we pass to another order of reflections. All Americans have been taught from their childhood to revere Washington as the model of patriotism and enlightened statesmanship; and Englishmen have generally agreed to accept their estimate. Franklin, it may be, stands upon a somewhat lower pedestal; but he too may be placed among the idols of the English-speaking race on both sides of the Atlantic. Jefferson, though his reputation is more confined to his own country, is there regarded with the veneration due to one of the revolutionary fathers; whilst John Adams, the least celebrated of the four, might naturally be joined, especially by a New England writer, with the old rival and friend whose death coincided so curiously with his own on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. After reading the lives of these saints of the orthodox American calendar, we naturally ask whether they were in fact such great men as they are ordinarily supposed to be? Do they owe their reputation to their having really been a head and shoulders taller than their contemporaries, and more than a head and shoulders taller than the succeeding race of politicians; or were they ordinary human beings raised on the summit of a great wave of revolution? We often hear complaints of the decay of the modern race of statesmen; in America, whatever the explanation of the phenomenon may be, there can be no doubt that the first three Presidents enjoy a much higher fame than those of the next generation, such as Jackson and the younger Adams, and must be placed infinitely above the Polks, Pierces, and Buchanans who immediately preceded the great catastrophe. It may, however, be fairly asked, in what degree was this owing to a decline in the intrinsic value of the men, and in what degree to the familiar process which leads to the consecration of some individual name as the accepted representative of any great political change? Men whose only task was to settle questions about tariffs and National Banks could hardly appeal to the imagination with the same force as those to whose energy the independent existence of the nation was owing; and yet it might possibly be the case that the same energies existed in the later period, though condemned to remain latent because not stimulated by any sufficient call to action.

If we take the four names in question, there are two of whom it may be plausibly urged that their fame was due much more to accident than to intrinsic merit. We cannot perceive that Adams or Jefferson displayed any first-rate intellectual or moral qualities. Theodore Parker, indeed, is inclined to rate Adams very highly; and we are ready to admit that he showed in a considerable degree a quality which is too often conspicuous by its absence in modern American statesmen. His defence of the English Captain Preston, in 1770, in spite of the prejudices of his own friends, was a thoroughly honourable action. His resolute action in maintaining peace with France in 1798, in defiance of his Cabinet, and with the result of breaking up his own party, was at least a proof of independence. He had, in short, the virtue generally known as "backbone." He could stand to his opinions, once formed, even in the teeth of his party; and that is a virtue which Americans should be encouraged to admire. But he certainly had the defects of his virtues. He was obstinate, quarrelsome, and impracticable. He was absurdly vain and jealous, and given to outrageous bursts of passion. He belonged to that perverse and pugnacious type which is very useful, but rarely soars to greatness, unless it is combined with an intellectual power to which, so far as we can see, Adams had no pretensions whatever. Parker indeed admits that he "had not a mind of the highest class," for which we should be disposed to substitute, so far as our study of his

writings has gone, that he was a commonplace thinker, though possessed of a certain irascible vigour which enabled him to leave his mark on the affairs of the time. That Parker should think it right to set him up as a contrast to the "dough-faced" politicians of a later day was right enough; but we cannot accept him as entitled to be called, in any high sense of the word, a statesman. His rival Jefferson was not only a far more amiable man, but had a much greater talent for assimilating and expressing the ideas of his time. Morally, we can see little in Jefferson to admire; he was an underhand intriguer; he was distinctly deficient in courage; and his policy, when at the head of the nation, was vacillating and unworthy. He owes his reputation in America to the fact that, more than any of his contemporaries, he was in thorough sympathy with the democratic ideas which ultimately prevailed, and gave them the fullest expression in the Declaration of Independence and elsewhere. It is only natural that, as the spokesman of the most popular party, his reputation should be cherished by those who carried out the principles which he could only introduce in a milder form. But we confess that we are a little surprised at the apparent approval with which Parker speaks of his dread of a probable "despotism of the Judiciary." Perhaps Parker was thinking of the decisions which, at the time of his lecture, threw the weight of the Judiciary against the Abolitionists. Yet we confess that the United States seem to us to be in little danger that their Judges will be too independent of the other branches of the Government. We can partly understand the admiration which Parker expresses for Jefferson's freedom from the Federalist fault of "distrusting the people"; and yet he had just before told us with great truth that Jefferson was "afraid only of the concentrated despotism of the few, not knowing that the many may also become tyrants." Surely that is saying in so many words that Jefferson was essentially blind to the worst tendencies of the people he influenced; as he was worshipped by them precisely because he flattered their worst tendencies. It is very wrong to distrust the people, if by that phrase is implied a cynical contempt for popular desires, and a disbelief in all popular virtue; but surely it is possible to trust the people a good deal too far. When you trust in their omniscience and impeccability you are apt to be mistaken.

Franklin, however, and Washington, must be judged differently. That Washington was one of the purest and most patriotic of statesmen we admit to be undeniable. His freedom from all sorts of meanness is as admirable as it is rare; and we fully agree that he is fitted to be a type of public virtue. Parker is perhaps rather unjust to his countrymen when he praises Washington, according to the accustomed phrase, for refusing to become a king. Surely it wanted nothing more than average common sense to reject a project which, to any one who reflects on the disjointed and quarrelsome condition of the newly created States, savoured of nothing but madness. If, however, Washington merely declined in this instance what was obviously unattainable, he certainly showed an heroic patience and self-denial throughout his career which would warrant us in the belief that he would have been equally rational under greater temptation. The only thing to be said against Washington is what may be also said of a man who in some respects resembled him, the exemplary Duke of Wellington—namely, that, for a man of great ability, he was uncommonly near to being stupid. In practical matters he was admirable, though we doubt the propriety of comparing him to Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon, and Hannibal; but he was not very accessible to general ideas—and, in fact, we cannot help thinking that in his case, virtue, though none the less virtuous on that account, was closely allied to dullness. Of Franklin our judgment would in some respects be the reverse. His moral qualities were as commonplace as his intellectual powers were rare. His virtues were chiefly those of his own "Poor Richard"—consummate prudence, and an intelligent regard for the material interests of himself and his country. He had, that is—in a very unusual degree it is true—that acuteness which is characteristic of the race from which he sprang, and he saw with incomparable clearness that it does not pay in the long run to be a knave. Accordingly he was thoroughly virtuous; but his virtue was not of the most inspiring kind. On the other hand, it is difficult to praise some of his intellectual qualities too highly. He carried common sense to the pitch where it passes into genius. His style is amongst the most admirable examples of the pithy vernacular which has become unfortunately rare; and both in his scientific discoveries and his political writings are seen the same indications of concentrated, though in some directions limited, power. If his want of imagination prevents him from rising to the first rank, he certainly deserves the very highest place which can be won by an understanding of the second order, but most vigorous within its own limits.

We should be disposed, then, to agree that Washington and Franklin were each of them men who were on a level with the great events in which they took part, and not simply commonplace men raised by those events to notoriety. In Jefferson and Adams we can discover little to justify a claim to much intrinsic superiority above the less celebrated men who followed them. To complete our reflections, we should ask how many Washingtons and Franklins could be raised in America at the present day? Will posterity consider Lincoln and Grant, or Jefferson Davis and Lee, deserving of a place by their sides in the national Pantheon? We must, however, decline to enter into that problem. It is an interesting one in some respects, and might throw some light on

the change which has passed over America. But it is a very large question, and might lead us into some of those delicate discussions which, however carefully conducted, somehow always end in offending the persons concerned. Still less could we inquire whether future occupants of the President's chair are likely to enjoy the respect of coming generations in the same degree as these first fathers of the Republic.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN'S ENGLISH VISIT.*

WE are disappointed in this book, for it does not give us what we hoped to meet with. A foreigner of remarkable intelligence has been amongst us for awhile, and has returned to his Eastern home; the title of this book led us to look for his account of our habits and institutions, and for his judgment on them, formed, not amid the excitement of continuous fêtes, but when, separated by thousands of miles and an interval of some months, only their memory remained to him. Instead of this, we have a dry collection of reports of meetings, receptions, and religious functions in Mr. Sen's honour, and of sermons and speeches which he himself delivered. These were carefully chronicled in certain papers at the time of their utterance; but it may be convenient to some people to have them recorded in a more permanent form, although of course such a plan involves needless repetition of the particulars of each meeting, much going over the same ground where the various speeches overlap each other, and tedious iteration of complimentary phrases in honour of "our distinguished guest." Having read the book with some care, we are still without any clear notion of the object which Mr. Sen set before himself when he visited this country. The editor tells us in her preface that it was

to help to bring England and India into closer union, by promoting a fuller sympathy and a clearer understanding between the two countries, and especially to excite the interest of the English public in the political, social, and religious welfare of the men and women of India.

At the first meeting which he addressed in England Mr. Sen said:—

I come here to study Christianity in its living and spiritual forms. I do not come to study the doctrines of Christianity, but truly Christian life as displayed and illustrated in England. I come to study the spirit of Christian philanthropy, of Christian charity, and honourable Christian self-denial.

Between these discrepancies, and in spite of his own assertion, Mr. Sen appears to us in no degree to have come as a learner or inquirer after truth. He is a teacher rather than a learner, and while indeed he recognises good everywhere, and is eclectic enough to hope to assimilate all that is good which comes in his way, he is evidently persuaded that he is in possession of the secret which should regenerate the world, both East and West, and that if all religions would sink their distinctive tenets and merge themselves in the Theism of which he is the apostle, a Utopia both religious and social would be attained. The Brahmo Somaj, of which he is now the most prominent member, originated nearly fifty years ago, and it is interesting to note that Mr. Sen distinctly declares its birth to have been contemporary with the establishment of English education in India. We learn with surprise that this association, which has attracted much attention both here and in India, and which in Bengal and Bombay, in the North-West Provinces and the Punjab, is now the centre of Hindu reformation, only numbers some 6,000 adherents. No one can regard without interest a movement, entirely the product of the Hindu mind, which sets before itself such lofty objects, which rejects idolatry and caste, and which aims at placing woman in her proper position. Its founder, Ram Mohun Roy, aimed at reviving what he believed to be the primitive Hindu religion. In the midst of his labours he came to England, where he was warmly welcomed by the Unitarians, and in this country he died. His followers continued to spread his principles, to wage war with idolatry and caste, and to uphold the doctrines of the older Vedas against the teaching of the later Puranas. For twenty years they declared the Vedas to be infallible; but at length ruthless criticism proved that, in spite of their excellences, they contained "not the whole truth and nothing but the truth," and, their fallibility once admitted, they were thrown into the back-ground altogether, and the Brahmos adopted, to use Mr. Sen's words,

a purer kind of Theism, unfettered by the Vedas, unshackled by the authority of priests, undefiled by those absurd doctrines and speculations which lay mixed up with truth in the original Hindu books—a Theism which could not remain long in the state of mere intellectual dogmas and doctrines, but was morally constrained to develop itself in all fields of speculation and practice—a Theism which was destined to assume an aggressive attitude towards all manner of evil rampant in the land.

This movement is not unimportant in a political point of view, inasmuch as its members appreciate the benefits of English supremacy and are loyal to the Crown. To those who study the problem of the conversion and civilization of India it has a special interest; and to that fussy body which dubs itself the "religious world," which does not concern itself with speculation or metaphysics, which thinks human ignorance a nobler offering to God than human learning, and whose special delight is a religious lion, the advent of Mr. Sen was a godsend.

At whose instigation he first determined to come to England the

* *Keshub Chunder Sen's English Visit.* Edited by Sophia Dobson Collet. London: Strachan & Co. 1871.

book does not tell us; we learn from his own farewell words, spoken at Southampton, that he arrived "almost penniless," and that he had been fed and clothed during his stay in this country by his friends. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association gave him his first public welcome, and with that body he seems to have been on very intimate terms. We confess that when we read how this poor gentleman was lionized for six months, we marvel that he did not share the fate of his predecessor, and lay his bones in this country. If it seems to be specially miraculous that his physical strength should have survived all that he was called upon to undergo, still more wonderful is it if he has carried back to India a belief in anything except in himself. We can quite sympathize with all that he says when he deprecates sectarianism; for he had to be "interviewed" and patronized by persons of almost every phase of religious belief and unbelief, some of whom touted for him in a way hardly decorous, and some, but especially the Swedenborgians, prescribed portions of their favourite books, which they were sure were especially suited to his necessities. Landing in April, he had to run the gauntlet of all the lion-hunters of a London season. Beginning with a soirée at the Hanover Square Rooms on April 12, he had little or no rest save for about three weeks, "when he was utterly exhausted with his London campaign," until his farewell soirée on September 12; and the penultimate words then uttered were supplemented by a final farewell on September 17, the day of his embarkation for India. From the records of his doings we gather that in twelve days, from May 17 to 29, he addressed no fewer than seven public meetings in St. James's Hall, in Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle, and other places, to say nothing of the dinners and soirées which are unrecorded, but at which he was doubtless the great attraction. But the physical exertion, doubly severe to an Indian suddenly exposed to our fickle spring climate, was nothing in comparison with the mental effort demanded from a conscientious listener to the many orators who addressed him. So many and diverse were the counsels offered for his acceptance, that he must have been much like the Bedel of our Oxford days, a Christian in spite of fifty years of University sermons, if he retained throughout the measure of faith which he brought with him to England. The quality of exactness with which we are wont to credit Eastern thought must have been confused at his first public appearance, when the Dean of Westminster welcomed him on behalf of the "representatives of ten branches of the Christian Church" (of whom the Jewish Rabbi was one), and commended to him "the Christianity of Bacon, of Shakspeare, and of Scott, which needs no special decrees and no special confession of faith to commend it." Besides preaching and listening to addresses in sundry Unitarian and Congregational meeting-houses, he attended and spoke at a meeting of the Ragged School Union at Exeter Hall, at the Peace Society's Annual Meeting, at the United Kingdom Alliance Meeting, at a special gathering of the Swedenborg Society, and, lastly, at the Victoria Discussion Society, where Miss Wallington and Miss Emily Faithful enlightened him on the rights of women. So many public utterances, faithfully recorded, enable us to form an estimate of the speaker. It certainly is a remarkable testimony to the education which has been offered to the people of India when we find a Hindoo able to address an English audience in their own tongue, not merely with fluency and with well-chosen words, but also in a manner which argues an intimate acquaintance with English writers. Much that Mr. Sen has said is interesting as bearing on social questions in this country. Unconsciously he is very strong on the necessity of religious education. While admitting that on the reception of a purely secular education "his faith in idolatry died, without effort on his part, a natural death," he adds, "it left a void, and I received no positive system of faith to replace it; and how could one live on earth without a system of positive religion?" But while admitting this need, he sought to supply it only from within his own being. "No book, no teacher, but God Himself in the secret recesses of my heart" taught him. Of course, when a man believes himself to be the immediate recipient of secret revelations from the Deity, all strict logic of thought is abandoned for a sentimental pietism; on this ground we account for much which is illogical and contradictory in Mr. Sen's speeches. As with many who call themselves "free thinkers," and who make out of that title all the capital which in these days it is apt to yield, it would be more correct to call him a "free and easy thinker," so crude are his conclusions, and with so little trouble are they arrived at. The supreme verifying in Mr. Sen's estimation is what he calls "the voice of God in my soul"; in other words, what he assumes to be so—in simple truth, his own private judgment. On emerging from idolatry he felt the need of a Church; he found that no existing Church or sect answered his purpose; but a publication of the Brahmo Somaj falling into his hands, he read the chapter on "What is Brahmoism?" and "found that it accorded with the inner convictions of his heart, the voice of God in his soul." When a number of clergymen and Dissenting preachers at Nottingham sent to him an address in which certain fundamental truths were set forth for his consideration and acceptance, he "declined to subscribe to them, because they do not accord with the voice of God in my soul." While admitting the need of a "positive religion," and most anxious for the education of Indian women, he deprecates all existing machinery for that purpose, because it is sectarian, and he fails to see that positive religion can never be taught without what would be called sectarianism. Speaking bitterly of the injury which sectarianism has inflicted on India, he yet re-

joined to see ten sects represented at his opening soirée, and declared that he "would heartily and sincerely rejoice to see all sects in India." And all the while he is blind to the fact that he is himself devoting his life to the establishment of yet another sect. True he thinks his sect might embrace all others, in which case it would cease to be a sect; but wherein does he differ in this respect from the believers in all other creeds, from Romanists to Peculiar People? The Indian Church of the future, as sketched by Mr. Sen, is to be without theology, and without learning, and without doctrinal standards:—

We have not accommodation for vast theological libraries, nor have we time to wade through ten thousand folios of academical divinity. To understand them aright I must learn several languages, and I must solve many complicated metaphysical, ethnological, historical, and geographical problems. I say, therefore, good-bye to those learned Christian divines who wish to overload us with books and doctrines, with stereotyped phrases and outward rites.

The ideal Church of the *Daily Telegraph* would not differ materially from this sketch; reduced to its bare outline, it means simply "Hang Theology."

In more than one passage in this book we detect a grim and not unpleasant humour. Mr. Sen had too much shrewdness to be caught in the snares of the Victoria Discussion Society, and instead of being won to the advocacy of woman's rights, he gave his entertainers some thoughts by which they might profit if they would take them to heart; he saw clearly through the fussy zeal of the people who lionized him, and protested in vain against the part which he was called upon to play. To a Birmingham audience he said:—

In some cases his friends had allowed their kindness to run too far. To use an expressive but inelegant term, they had lionized him. He had often said to them, "Don't flatter my vanity; don't make too much of me; pray don't put me forward in public meetings." They however seemed to say, "It is not always that we get a foreigner, and we must therefore make the most of you." And so they had been carrying him as it were from town to town, from house to house, from meeting to meeting, and from tea-party to tea-party, and he did not know where he should stop.

It was impossible that any man who was only mortal should undergo all this religious dissipation and suffer no damage; and we see the result in Mr. Sen's case at his farewell soirée on September 12. The same room witnessed both his first and his last appearance in London, and the contrast between the two is painful. No doubt there was all the difference between the two audiences that there is between London in April and London in September, and it may be that the speaker adapted himself to his hearers; but the contrast is in our opinion to be attributed to other causes. On the first occasion Mr. Sen spoke in simple, but almost stately, words on grave subjects—the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and their relation to his own convictions. On the last, although these things were not ignored, and although he spoke well and thoughtfully on the sights which meet us in our London streets—our poverty and mendicancy, our drunkenness and prostitution, baby-farming, puffing advertisements, and the like—the burden of his speech was devoted to remarks savouring strongly of true British snobbishness, on English dinners and women's dress, chignons and crinolines, which an appreciating audience received with "much laughter."

On reading this we could not but rejoice that in less than a week from that time Mr. Sen was safely on board ship with his face turned Eastward. He had said many things that we could have heard with pleasure, and might remember with advantage. The movement with which he is identified is not without a claim upon our sympathies; but when he became our critic, we should have been better pleased had he delayed to give us his views on our manners and customs until first impressions had been verified by reflection, and his judgments had been formed in the calm seclusion of his Eastern home rather than amid the bustle and distraction of continuous fêtes.

CHIPLOQUORGAN.*

It would seem that as soon as a man kills any thing there comes upon him a strong desire to call in his neighbours and his friends to witness his success, and to rejoice with him in his triumph. In those awkward cases where he happens to have killed a fellow-man—in civilized countries at all events—there comes in a second motive, even more powerful than the first, to restrain him from seeking undue publicity. While in all probability his natural instincts still lead him to seek the sympathy of his fellow-creatures in his success, yet a prudent fear of the gallows warns him against yielding to his impulses. When we consider what man's nature is, and how he longs for at least some one to rejoice with him when he rejoices, we cannot but feel that the refinement of our age deprives murder of its chief and most innocent pleasure. Admitting for a moment that it is wrong in any irregular mode to knock a fellow-creature on the head, still we all must allow that, when once it is done and cannot be undone, it is far from a brutal impulse that would lead the slayer to call for the sympathy of others. The desire that others should partake in the joy that arises from success shows at all events a certain progress in civilization. We should undoubtedly think worse of the Borneo lover if in selfish solitude he enjoyed the

spectacle of some passer-by whom he had without provocation slain, and did not hurry off with the head to share his joys and his triumph with his lady-love. Though modern civilization forbids us these higher enjoyments, still it leaves us a very fair amount of killing which we can publish abroad with pride. The Borneo chieftain would look with contempt no doubt on the heroes of Hurlingham; but even he would admit that, rather than destroy nothing, it is better for a young nobleman to blow a hundred pigeons to pieces before his mistress's eyes. It is not only among noble lovers, but also among the lowest children, that this love of killing in company is to be found. What child was ever known who was surly and morose enough to enjoy pelting frogs in solitude? Who did not desire that each well-aimed stone might claim the tribute of applause, and that he might excite as much sympathy as envy would allow in the midst of his marshy triumphs? Unhappily there are no sporting papers, we believe, which as yet open their columns to this most simple of all *battues*. We shall hope, with the progress of equality, the day may yet come when, side by side with the fullest details of one day's butchering of some sporting prince, will be read the short but simple annals of some Hodge, who, in a well-preserved pond, has in the first day of the season sent some thousand frogs or so to croak in the marshes of Acheron. We are perfectly disinterested in expressing this wish, for we cannot ourselves pretend to enjoy the perusal of a list of slaughtered animals. There are people whose minds are so happily constituted as to be interested in knowing how many birds were shot on a particular day by a party of people none of whom they ever saw in their lives. The editor of the *Times*, indeed, is so obliging as occasionally to gratify their curiosity by inserting not only a list of the slayers and the number of the slain, but also an exact account of the different kinds of animals that were killed. It is not sufficient to know that three or four noble sportsmen killed some hundreds of birds, unless at the same time it is told how many of these were pheasants and how many partridges. To people who delight in such light reading as this we can strongly recommend *Chiploquorgan*. Mr. Dashwood got through a good deal of killing in his tours in North America, and he is never weary of recounting it. He does indeed vary it with a few practical hints that may render killing less laborious and difficult for those who choose to follow in his steps. He throws in occasionally little scraps of geography and history, and now and then, lest he should be thought dull, he informs his readers what he had for dinner. In one paragraph he attempts a description of scenery, but before he reaches a full stop he relapses into fish. We will quote the whole sentence, however, as it is a fair enough specimen of Mr. Dashwood's book:—

The scenery on the Nepisiguit, though pretty, has very little grandeur about it, the land being comparatively flat on both sides of the river, which, with the breadth and shallowness of the stream in many parts, soon causes the water to become hot after a drought, when the fish naturally become sulky, and will not rise. I remember once, under these circumstances, whipping the stream for four days without a rise, although there were many salmon up at the time. I consider this river therefore most uncertain, though if one is lucky enough to hit off the right height of water, excellent sport is to be had.

The flies for the Nepisiguit are of a plain description, especially as regards the wings, which should be brown mottled, with a few sprigs of golden pheasant neck feather underneath; body fiery brown with blue and claret hackle, wound on together, is a standard fly, and is known by the name of the "Nicholson," so called after the inventor, a well-known sportsman of St. John, New Brunswick. Black body, black hackle, and yellow tip is a killer, and the same fly with a crimson tip fishes well at Middle Landing. Grey monkey body and Irish grey hackle is very good in clear water. Body half grey, half claret fur, with grey and claret hackles placed on together, is an admirable fly for the Pabineau. This fly was invented by my friend Captain Coventry, who stuck many a fish with it off the Flat Rock.

No doubt gentlemen who intend to fish the Nepisiguit will be glad to learn what is the best kind of fly to use, and as they haul out a large salmon they will readily acknowledge their obligations to the "well-known" Mr. Nicholson and the author's friend Captain Coventry. It is quite right that the benefactors of the world should be known, among whom surely we would not willingly forget those who have helped to cheapen salmon. Still, as the general reader has no chance of fishing in the Nepisiguit, or of using either of these flies, he would have been well content if it had been left to some New Brunswick newspaper, or to some local guide, to describe these meritorious contrivances and to confer immortality on their inventors.

We must do Mr. Dashwood the justice to admit that, throughout his work, while he certainly does not hesitate to extol his own great doings, yet he will go out of the way to say a good word for any one he comes across. We are always glad to avail ourselves of any opportunity to conciliate our colonies, and we therefore have much pleasure in giving all publicity to the fact that New Brunswick possesses at all events one exemplary citizen:—

In St. John, New Brunswick, there was a very respectable man of the name of Willis—a saw-filer—who could put a decent fly together if he had the materials.

We hope that the past tense [does not imply that the very respectable Willis is no more, and that it must be said of him, as it was of Troy—*fun!* St. John is a place full of many memories to Mr. Dashwood. Not only did he there become acquainted with this maker of a decent fly, but he "killed there one year forty-four and a-half brace of woodcock from the 1st to the 25th of October." Nay, moreover, rising in enthusiasm in his recollections of the spot, he exclaims:—

I picked up a spaniel when a puppy on my first arrival in the country

* *Chiploquorgan*; or, *Life by the Camp Fire in the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland*. By Richard Lewes Dashwood, 15th Regiment. Dublin: E. T. White. 1871.

and a capital dog he turned out; his name was "Musquash," the Indian for musk-rat.

If every person who has known a very respectable man, or who has killed woodcocks or has picked up a puppy, were to write a book about it, what a number of books there would be! Mr. Dashwood does indeed himself once almost succeed in imagining that such petty details must be rather dull reading, as he begins his 278th page with "Not to weary my readers with a monotonous account of our doings from day to day." For a few pages he keeps himself pretty steadily to an account of a cariboo hunt, but by the time he has reached p. 289 he needs some refreshment from the mental strain he has undergone, and thus relapses into his regular narrative:—

Bidding these hospitable people good-bye, we set sail and arrived in a couple of days at the mines. Here we met with the most unbounded hospitality and kindness from Mr. McKay, the owner, whom we had before met in his yacht, and from Mr. Gill, the chief agent. We put up at Mr. McKay's house, where we were regaled in regal style with '34 port and other delicacies—rather a change in our fare.

This cariboo hunt is, to avail ourselves of an expression used by our author, "the grand culminating point" of the whole book. When he had shot a "magnificent stag with very large horns" he felt that the time had come when he might sing the *Nunc dimittis* and bring his labours and his book to a close. He shall here speak for himself, for we feel ourselves totally unequal to paint the rapture of a man who has killed a cariboo:—

Turning to the Indian, I exclaimed, "Where is he?" "There; he dying," answered Sebatias, pointing to a rock fifty yards to our right, where the noble animal lay breathing his last gasp. Oh, what a relief, what a moment of delight never to be forgotten! At last I had accomplished that for which I had toiled for weeks, thought of by day, and dreamt of by night. I had killed a cariboo with very large horns.

People who, like ourselves, prefer to have all their killing done for them, and have no more desire to kill a cariboo than a porker, cannot pretend to enter into the nice distinctions which exist in the sportsman's code. Mr. Dashwood can hardly contain his indignation when he recounts how in February "pot hunters and would-be sportsmen sally forth," and shoot the moose when hindered in his flight by the snow. He describes this kind of hunting as "a species of murder," and says, "I am sorry to say that this abominable and unsportsmanlike practice is followed by Englishmen calling themselves sportsmen, and in some instances by British officers." To place ourselves as far as possible in the moose's point of view, we do not know that we should find much to choose between the "pot hunters" in February and Mr. Dashwood in October, who, having shot a "master stag" at a distance of less than one hundred yards, rushed up, and in his own words, "with a shout of triumph plunged my hunting-knife into his throat." If such detailed accounts of killing are really enjoyed, we do not know why some respectable butcher should not publish his experiences, and so earn an honest penny. We would suggest as a title "The Pole-axe, or Reminiscences of Butchering, by a Newgate Street Salesman." Granting, however, that the stag was killed in a manner that was sportsmanlike and in every way worthy of a British officer, yet where is the difference between the pot hunters, who by "a species of murder" kill the moose in the snow, and the sportsman who "hides himself close to the house of the beavers and kills them as they make their appearance"? And yet Mr. Dashwood describes this method of killing—which almost makes as much call on the muscles as pigeon-shooting at Hurlingham—as affording "the best sport." We should advise him, if he still goes on with literature, to bring out a new edition with notes of *Killing no Murder*. It would be just as well, however, if he were first to turn his attention from the destruction of animals to the construction of sentences. In one place he tells us, in English that may be sportsmanlike but is scarcely grammatical, that "the troops do not get any drawback on their wine and liquor, which is the reverse in Canada." In another place he is utterly confusing, but he may meet with some indulgence here, as he has managed to drag in two Latin words. He is writing of the Gulf Stream, and he says:—

After forty-eight hours' steaming, the climate has totally changed; instead of wearing the thinnest and lightest of clothes, you are glad to put on a pea jacket, and *vice versa*.

Little as we can make of the pea-jacket and *vice versa*, still less can we understand how the Americans "hold reciprocity with the States over the Canadians in *terrorem*," nor do we know what Mr. Dashwood means when he talks of "hunting paraphernalia." Paraphernalia, composed as it is of no less than six syllables, and carrying with it no distinct meaning to most people's ears, has merits of its own. Still Mr. Dashwood might have been content with using it once, and might have reserved it for the astonishment which his "paraphernalia created at the different railways, and also on my arrival at the station a few miles from my own house."

It is fair to own that Mr. Dashwood does tell one amusing story in the course of his book. We have hesitated to quote it, however, lest we should thereby deprive him of all chances of getting a reader. There are people who would angle in a pond so long as they knew that there was one fish in it, and there may be readers who would take up a book so long as they knew there was one good story in it. But we must consider our own readers before Mr. Dashwood's, and must make up in some degree for the dullness of the extracts that we have already inflicted upon them. And now for Mr. Dashwood's story. He is describing the island of Newfoundland, and says—

Many of the inhabitants of the more remote bays have never left the

neighbourhood in which they were born; the ignorance of some of these people is hardly to be credited. A short time since, on the discovery of a mine on the east coast of the island, some horses and cows were transported thither; a horse happening to stray away was shot by a settler as an unknown wild animal. In the course of skinning the beast the man discovered its iron shoes; this appeared to him such an extraordinary occurrence that he attributed it to a supernatural agency—as ignorant people are liable to do things they do not understand—and departed quickly from the spot, leaving the horse where he had killed it. The people at this remote place, on first seeing a cow, exclaimed, "Here comes an animal with powder horns growing on its head!" They had used cow horns for that purpose all their lives, without knowing their origin.

Mr. Dashwood, we fear, will treat our criticism with contempt. He will apply to the *Saturday Review* the same words which Wordsworth applied to the little cottage child, and exclaim "What should it know of death?" He will class us among those whom he charges with declaring "that moose calling is no sport." His indignation, indeed, in the case of these miserable mortals rises to such a height that it does not allow him to observe the rules of grammar, or to supply the concluding sentence of his attack with a nominative case and a verb. But we will be generous enough to quote his own words, however heavily they may tell against us:—

Under these circumstances the grapes are sour, as the man in question abuses a sport which he is not able to accomplish. Lastly, in the case of those individuals who are of the wrong breed, who feel no excitement or pleasure in sport of any kind, whether it be the hooking of a salmon, shooting a stag, or any of those stirring pursuits that rouse ordinary mortals, Englishmen in particular.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF NEW SOUTH WALES.*

THE principle of world-wide or International Exhibitions of natural or industrial products has met with its happiest illustration in our colonial dependencies. There these omnifarious gatherings have found a genuine mission in enabling a young settlement to take stock, so to say, of its realized wealth of progress or discovery, and to impart to its lines of development for the time to come the degree of method which comes from carefully surveying its achievements and testing its energies. They have not there degenerated into overgrown bazaars, where a few favoured firms, under the prestige of semi-official authority, and under no burden of rent or taxes, carry off factitious profits over the heads of their less fortunate rivals in trade. The success of the Intercolonial Exhibition of Melbourne in 1867 was felt as a stimulus to the most ancient metropolis of the Southern continent not to fall behind its younger rival. A special inducement was found in the year 1870 being the centenary of Cook's landing in Botany Bay. There could be no more appropriate mode of commemorating the birth of the great community of the South than an exposition of the various fruits of Australasian industry. The Agricultural Society of New South Wales offered itself as the agent through which this enterprise might be carried out. Encouraged by a grant from the colonial Government, and undeterred by the difficulties of a season of almost unexampled storms and floods, the Exhibition building was finished, and opened after a slight delay on the 30th of August last year. It covers what would be deemed in this country the modest space of half an acre, and was erected by the Corporation for a sum of 20,000*l*. Built mainly of brick, iron, glass, and wood, it is light in appearance and handsome in design—somewhat Saracenic, we are told, in character. The plan divided itself into two great classes of objects, the Agricultural and the non-Agricultural. The display was kept open for one month, at the end of which the live stock had to be removed.

In no other country, the promoters were able to proclaim, has the attendance at similar Exhibitions been so large in proportion to the population. In the first part of the volume now before us we have the classified catalogue of objects, followed by the Official Report, the whole forming a clear and authoritative summary of the industrial progress of the colony. The second part traces in a more systematic and comprehensive form the history of the settlement, its growth, and gradual organization, the physical aspect and topography of the land, its climate, with its characteristics of soil and geological structure, its government and institutions, the variety and extent of its agricultural and pastoral interests, its mineral resources, manufactures, and trades, concluding with a survey of its railways, roads, and telegraphs, and its harbours, to the number of a score or so. The third part is made up of a series of papers upon special matters of interest, industrial or scientific, embodying the most advanced results of discovery and research within the limits of the colony. A somewhat rough map of New South Wales, as defined by its most recent boundary lines, with outline sketches of Sydney and Port Jackson, is inserted in the volume. Without vying for a moment in point of literary arrangement or artistic elegance and finish with the *Gold Fields of Victoria*, a volume very similar in scope, which we had much pleasure in noticing about two years ago, the present compilation deserves to be welcomed as a body of not less valuable or instructive matter. It being held essentially necessary in the case of every Exhibition of the kind to impart a kind of encyclopedic character to the programme of its contents, we can hardly feel surprised or disap-

* *The Industrial Progress of New South Wales; being a Report of the Intercolonial Exhibition of 1870, at Sydney, together with a variety of Papers illustrative of the Industrial Resources of the Colony.* By Authority. Sydney: Thomas Richards. 1871.

pointed to find gaps or deficits in not a few of the classes actually represented. In the departments of fine arts, of apparatus requiring superlative skill, artistic finish, or manual delicacy, we must expect an infant colony to fall lamentably short. The few pictures sent in for form's sake can in but rare instances be called products of native taste or skill, the catalogue showing them to be, in general, copies in water-colour or chromo-lithography of works thoroughly well known. The time has yet to come for the characteristic and magnificent scenery of Australia to be illustrated and interpreted by a school of indigenous artists. In the mere apparatus or mechanical aids to the fine arts we meet with little else than "no entry" under the heading of local contributions. Such too is the case with toys, in which South Kensington has this year opened so strenuous a rivalry with the Lowther Arcade. Happily for the rising generation at the antipodes, this barrenness of native talent may be made up indefinitely out of the surplus of these "aids to education" at the great central storehouse at home. It is when we come to the products for which the Australian continent is specially renowned that we can appreciate the real significance and value of such an exposition as this. The magnificent collections of gold quartz and auriferous ores must have been a sight in themselves. The Jurors' Report speaks in glowing terms of the classified samples from the gold-fields of Victoria, selected with a view of showing the efficacy of Professor Abel's chemical compound, used in combination with quicksilver, in the extraction and saving of the fine particles of free and pyritous gold which constitute so large a percentage of loss in the usual method of treatment with quicksilver alone. The fine quality of gold from the Cypress Quartz Company has, in their judgment, never been equalled by any system of treatment hitherto. The cost of the process, moreover, which is about to be tried upon a large scale, is merely nominal, and immense results may be expected from it. The awards in Class 640, "apparatus and processes for the extraction of gold, diamonds, and precious stones," are full of interest, as bringing the test of practical experience to bear upon the latest combinations of scientific and mechanical ingenuity.

It was a matter of great regret that, in a metropolitan, agricultural, and general Exhibition, so little could be done to display what is after all the main and transcendent staple of colonial industry. A stranger ignorant of the affairs of the colony would never have guessed from this show that the foundation of its commercial prosperity and its most valuable export was wool. The animals exhibited were few in number, and none of them represented the excellence to which wool-bearing sheep have attained in this colony. One cause of this shortcoming was the stringent operation of the Scab Act. Owners of fine-woolled sheep dreaded the danger of infection. The frightful state of the roads, moreover, militated against a good sheep show. Sheep driven down would have brought with them more mud than wool, and conveyance by carts would have been ruinously expensive. A good account of the introduction and growth of the best breeds will be found in the Official Report, with the statistics of stock now in the colony, and estimates of the capabilities of different tracts for future development. The total number of sheep in New South Wales has risen from 6,119,163 in 1861 to 16,218,825 in 1870. The capital value of the entire pastoral property, comprising 280,000 horses and 1,800,000 cattle, arrived at by a two-fold process of calculation, is set down at 19,800,000*l.* or thereabouts. A decrease of 18 per cent. in the number of cattle within the last ten years is due in part to the ravages of pleuro-pneumonia, in part also to the preference given by squatters to sheep. In quality the judges held that the horned stock might have compared not unfairly with many local shows in the mother-country. The portion of their Report most interesting to readers at home will naturally be that in which they speak of the relative merits of the manifold meat-preserving methods submitted for approval and tested by careful and prolonged experiments.

The cereal crops occupy but a subordinate place in the catalogue of vegetable products in which New South Wales is perhaps the most varied of any country in the world. Of imported grain, wheat, being more familiar to the settlers, was at first the most largely grown, in preference to semi-tropical products. But latterly the farmer has turned his attention to more profitable crops. Admirably adapted as both soil and climate are to maize as well as wheat, the Report dwells upon the fact that, owing to the mode in which they are cultivated, each of these staples becomes every year less capable of withstanding foreign competition. The number of acres under wheat is, however, 189,452, out of a total area of 323,437 square miles; the number under hay, 129,700. The yield of maize, always increasing, is now somewhat in excess of wheat. The production of wine has assumed a really important character, having reached nearly half a million gallons in the last year; the quality of the wines also showing signs of advancement. Since 1867 the growth of sugar has attracted much public enthusiasm, and the produce has rapidly swollen to 3,264,824 lbs. in 1870. Many settlers have turned their attention with success to fruit-growing. Both European and semi-tropical fruits flourish admirably in the open air, and are cheap when in season. The orange especially, which was first introduced into Sydney from Brazil in 1788, opens a most important source of wealth. A special paper by Dr. George Bennett furnishes many interesting particulars of the introduction, cultivation, and economic uses of the orange and other fruits of the citron tribe within the colony. The export of oranges, chiefly to Victoria, had risen in 1869 to nearly 50,000*l.* It is not only as a fruit, but scarcely less as an article of perfumery, that the orange

has a value. From the blossom two distinct odours are procurable by the respective processes of maceration and distillation. The peel of the fruit yields by expulsion the volatile oil of bergamot, for which the demand in New South Wales is increasing, that in Italy falling off. Glowing reports are given by Dr. Bennett of the great orangeries of Lane Cove, Rocky Hall, near Paramatta, and others, where the fine mandarin orange-trees, already twenty feet high, yield annually some 350 dozen fruit a-piece, their dark green leaves forming a rich background to the golden clusters and delicate blossoms, brightened by butterflies of various glowing tints, and made musical by the hum of innumerable bees. A bunch of oranges has been exhibited at Hobart Town bearing forty-two oranges, of splendid quality, upon a single stem. Some weighty words of caution are added by Dr. Bennett touching errors in cultivation, and the threatened invasion of disease, the dark spots in what bids fair to form one of the most brilliant features of Australian cultivation. Tobacco and the olive seem likely at no distant date to vie with the orange and the vine as items in the vegetable wealth of the colony.

The Report of Mr. Keene, Government Inspector of Coalfields, based upon a very extensive and interesting collection of rocks, fossils, and minerals exhibited by him, is full of hope for this invaluable element in economic and commercial progress. A tabular list of collieries, kerosine, and shale mines in work, twenty-four in number, gives 919,522 as the total of tons raised in 1869, the number of persons employed being 2,012. The shipments to San Francisco for the first quarter of last year amounted to 19,774 tons. In quality, good, clean, hand-picked coal is pronounced by the Inspector fully equal, if not preferable, to the best coals of England in the state in which English coal can alone be got in Sydney, while costing but half the price of the imported mineral. The woods of New South Wales, with their applicability to building and other purposes, are treated at length in a valuable paper by Mr. Charles Moore, F.L.S., Director of the Botanic Gardens, and a table is given of the principal timber trees indigenous to the colony, named in accordance with the *Flora Australiensis*. It would be unfair to pass by without commendatory mention the Rev. W. B. Clarke's remarks upon the Sedimentary formations of New South Wales, comprising as they do a clear and careful summary of the comparative geology of the continent at large, illustrative references being largely made to the other provinces of Australasia. Among the distinctive features of this particular province is the absence of Marine Tertiary deposits in any part of the coast of New South Wales or Queensland, up to the Cape York Peninsula, though they are found along the west coast of Australia, and along the southern coast, from Cape Leuwin to Cape Howe. The reason of this probably is that the eastern extension of Australia has been cut off by the general sinking which is involved in the Barrier reef theory of Mr. Darwin. The Cordillera of the eastern coast has not been subject to the changes which introduced the relics of a Tertiary Ocean. In the sections of the Carboniferous formation a more complete and unbroken series of the strata prevails than in those of Victoria, a difficulty thence arising in collating the gold deposits of the two provinces. While the gold is in general derived, so far as is at present known, from the Lower Silurian formation, Mr. Clarke is of opinion that it exists in almost every distinctive rock in New South Wales. The alluvial deposits are not indeed equally rich, but he discerns in coal, iron, and tin more than an equivalent for the greater amount of gold in Victoria. The volume before us closes with a Report by Mr. Alexander Oliver, M.A., upon the local sea and river fisheries, a subject which in all new countries must come in the nature of things under the class of "postponed industries," but which is certain one day to rank as one of the important resources of the colony. Preceding this paper is a carefully classified list of the indigenous fauna of Australia, fossil and recent, for the dryness of which the writer, Mr. Gerard Krefft, Curator and Secretary of the Australian Museum, tenders an apology which to all cultivators of natural science will seem superfluous. We welcome it as the first outline and earnest of a complete natural history of Australian Vertebrata, to be wrought out at no very distant period by the same able and willing hands.

AN ENIGMATICAL MAN.*

FROM time immemorial the Russians have held dear the *zagadka*—the riddle or enigma. In the days of heathenism it was used as a convenient means for conveying religious instruction, the early riddles being what Professor Max Müller says many proverbs are, "chips of mythology." Now it has fallen from its high estate, and, except at the time of the Christmas festival called *Svyatki*, when for a short period it regains something of its pristine importance, it has become merely a source of trivial amusement. Still it keeps its old charm for the ear, and so the term *zagadochny*, or enigmatical, when applied to a man, is likely to arrest more than passing attention. For this reason, in all probability, Mr. Stebnitsky has applied it to the unfortunate hero of what he puts forward as a friendly memoir, though it is in reality a bitter lampoon. It is long since we have seen a book which left behind it so disagreeable an impression of its author. No

* *Zagadochny Chelovek*, &c. [An Enigmatical Man. An Episode from the History of a Comic Time in Russia. With a Letter from the Author to Ivan Sergeyevich Tourgueneff. By N. S. Lyesskof-Stebnitsky.] St. Petersburg, 1871.

one who reads it can avoid a feeling of aversion for a literary operator who, while professing a wish to embalm a lost friend, pitilessly dissects him in the presence of the public, and points with a grin to the defective parts of his structure, studiously laying bare all the little weaknesses over which common decency, not to speak of friendship, would have cast a veil. But we will not dwell on so disagreeable a subject. From the operator let us turn to the subject of the operation. The Siamese are said to pay divine honours to people who have been torn to pieces by apes. We cannot but have a good opinion of the unfortunate enthusiast whose memory has been so cruelly mangled by Mr. "Lyeshkof-Stebnitsky."

Not many years ago there was employed in our War Office a clerk named Arthur Benni. English by his mother's side, he became naturalized here in England, and at one time seemed likely to take up his residence in this country, and to lead a life which his great abilities and accomplishments would probably have rendered smooth and prosperous. But there ran through his moral constitution a vein of that strange element which exercises on some men so mysterious an influence, often remaining latent during long periods, but then suddenly bursting from lethargy into fierce life, tempering for the time the whole character of their thoughts and words, and sometimes driving them into deeds for which their most intimate friends find it difficult to account. Even they themselves, when no longer under its influence, often look back on the past with astonishment, seeing clearly on the field of memory their own figures engaged in actions the incitement towards which they can but faintly realize, feeling for themselves that useless pity which makes them long to be able to stretch forth a warning hand and point out to their own *idola* the pitfalls into which they are heedlessly hurrying. It is all very well for cool-headed critics to explain, after their own fashion, the oscillations of such an enthusiast—to prove to their own satisfaction that it must have been vanity, greed, or ambition which impelled him on his erratic course; but more sympathetic observers of such a strange career as that of Arthur Benni will recognise even in its failures the influence of some nobler sentiment, knowing that many a moral suicide has been brought about by a loyal though mistaken obedience to the appeal of a generous devotion.

Arthur Benni, according to his biographer, was born at Tomaszow, in Poland, somewhere about the year 1842. Admirably educated by his father, the Lutheran pastor of that town, a man of wide views and of great learning, who died in 1862, and nurtured in the bracing atmosphere of what was all but an English home, young Benni seemed to be destined for a life as little as possible resembling that which he was really doomed to lead. And when at the termination of his boyhood he came to England, and eventually obtained a post in the War Office, an assured career seemed to open out before him. Unfortunately he was not content with it. "Such a life," he said, "was wide apart from my ideal life." In London he became intimately acquainted with the head of the Russian Socialist propaganda, the dictator of the *Russian Free Press*, Alexander Herten, and with the other revolutionists who at that time grouped themselves around that chief of the "Russian Emigration." How great were the services which at one time the feared "Isander" rendered to his country, with how strong a hand he rent aside the curtain under which the unclean beings strove to shelter themselves who battered upon the corruption which was eating away the heart of Russia—all this has already been pointed out in our columns.* For this great credit is due to Mr. Alexander Herten; but it must not be forgotten that, when a purer system had been introduced into Russia—a new method of ruling which, in spite of some shortcomings, was to that which had preceded it as the day is to the night—then, instead of assisting the Government in its efforts to benefit the people by bestowing on the masses the great gift of personal liberty, and introducing open courts of law, trial by jury, and comparative freedom of the press, the *Russian Free Press* did all it could, by appealing to the worst of passions, to produce an angry feeling between the rulers and the ruled. Mr. Herten's house, especially after his departure from England, was no longer the home of a few earnest protestors against tyranny and obscurantism in Russia; it became the headquarters of the cosmopolitan agitators against the established Governments of the world; and from its comfortable security went forth commands which sent too many an obedient enthusiast on an errand fraught with danger of imprisonment and death.

While Mr. Herten still lived in London, according to Mr. Stebnitsky, there came to visit him a Siberian merchant, who was so fascinated with what he heard that he determined to become an agent of the propaganda, and to carry on "a socialistic-democratic propaganda in Siberia." With this intent he asked young Benni to accompany him thither, promising him a liberal salary as manager of his works. In an evil hour for himself Mr. Benni consented. According to his biographer, in whom a little exaggeration may be excused, "he joyfully left England, and without the slightest misgivings resigned his post in Woolwich Arsenal, where he was in the receipt of about 500*l.* a-year." Mr. Stebnitsky goes on to say that the further the Siberian merchant receded from the shores of England the fainter grew the flame of his democratic fire, until at last, on his arrival at Berlin, it went out entirely. Having by this time

got as much as he could well expect out of his companion, whom he had used on the journey as an interpreter, he got rid of him in the most unceremonious manner, and went on his way alone. The young enthusiast had to effect his own entry into Russia, and that of the inflammatory matter which he carried with him in the shape of seditious literature, as he best could.

After giving some account of Mr. Benni's first visit to St. Petersburg, and of his reception there as an agent of Herten's, our author proceeds to demolish, after his peculiar fashion, a certain unfortunate official named Andrei Nichiporanko, with whom Mr. Benni made an expedition to several Russian towns. Some of the pictures he draws of the scenes visited by the two agitators are amusing enough, and would even be valuable were it possible to attach any credit to them. One of them, for instance, represents the interior of a low drinking-house at Nijny Novgorod, into which Mentor—as Mr. Stebnitsky playfully styles the elder of the travellers—introduces Telemachus in order that he may become personally acquainted with "the People." Telemachus, we are told, wore "a gutta-percha mackintosh," and "an English forage-cap with a red band, in the middle of which flaunted in gold letters a tolerably large device of Queen Victoria, 'R.W.' (Regina Victoria)," while he carried in his hand "a silk umbrella which he had brought with him from England and with which he never parted." The description of "Mentor's" attempts to strike up an intimacy with the representatives of "the People" whom he finds drinking there, and of his uncourteous reception of the grey-haired old "church-beggar" who wanders about among the noisy tipplers, asking for alms in aid of the restoration of the burnt temple of "Simeon and Anna the prophets," is by no means devoid of humour. The attempts, it is unnecessary to say, prove utterly futile. At length a tipsy reveller, with whom Telemachus has been trying to engage in edifying conversation, finding that his new acquaintance will not drink, calls on him to sing. Mentor comes to the rescue of his companion, who is "utterly destitute of what is called a musical ear," but cannot think of any song except the "Long have the squires throttled us," which he feels would be unlikely to promote harmony. While he is meditating, the drinker intones the patriotic chant,

Our orthodox White Tsar,
A hero in heart and soul!

which has such an effect on the democratic Mentor that he flies from the room, to be followed by Telemachus as soon as he can escape from the embraces of his loyal and inebriated friend. The scene which follows is also somewhat diverting, in which Mentor and Telemachus find their pothouse acquaintance dead drunk in the street, and attempt to induce an *izoshchik* to drive him to his home. The driver imagines they are two robbers who have murdered a belated reveller, and want to dispose of the corpse; so he demands an exorbitant sum in advance, and, as soon as it is paid, the drunkard, coming to his senses as he is being lifted into the cab, takes to bellowing "Murder!" and "Police!" Up ride a number of Cossacks, and Telemachus has a narrow escape from being caught by their lassoes. On arriving at his hotel, he finds Mentor, who had fled at the first sign of danger, in such a state of alarm that he eventually consumes in the stove the whole packet of seditious literature which Telemachus had at such serious risk succeeded in smuggling into Russia.

But we have not space to dwell on this part of the story, so we will turn to its later chapters, in which is described how the young enthusiast, after many struggles against poverty and all manner of discouragements—struggles manfully maintained and discouragements bravely endured—was at last obliged to admit to himself that the task he had undertaken was too great for his strength. Socialists are almost as scarce in Russia as snakes in Iceland, and the bright pictures which had been called up before his eyes by the London "emigrants" were not to be realized on the banks of the Neva. The attempts he made to improve the position of the Russian Man by philosophical teaching were by no means crowned with success, nor even his more practical endeavours to benefit the Russian Woman by providing her with employment in a printing-office. Gradually his means decreased, and his health began to fail. At last a fever—due to the exposure to cold and damp during two nights, to which he was subjected in consequence of his gallantry in giving up his rooms to a homeless lady—brought him to a sick bed, from which he arose only to be sent to prison. His companion in Novgorod had fallen into the hands of the police, and had made revelations, says Mr. Stebnitsky, which compromised Arthur Benni, who was first put under arrest, and then condemned to three months' imprisonment in a fortress. There he was shut up in a low damp cell, feebly lighted by a small window, and when he was released he came back to the outer world an aged and broken man, with thinned hair, and loosened teeth, and dimmed eyes.

The lesson he had been forced to learn had been a severe one, but his friends hoped that it would at least put an end to the wild dreams which had brought so much evil upon him. He came back to London, and seemed to be inclined to lead for the future a quiet life, and to turn to good account his great natural ability. There seemed, moreover, to be every chance that he would be allowed to return to Russia, and there enrol himself in the small band of Advocates—a new force in the country, to which the present Emperor has given new life—who have since thriven so well there. But one day, when all appeared to be going well with him, he called on one of his friends, in a state of great excitement, and said that he had received a letter from the revolutionary

* *Saturday Review*, June 27, 1863.

headquarters, bearing a certain mark, which meant that he was ordered "on duty." When pressed to refuse, he said he could not in honour do so, but that after this expedition he would sever all connexion with the party which had already done him so much harm. He left England, and his friends heard no more of him till a letter came, written by him with his left hand, from a Roman hospital. During the fatal battle of Mentana he had been struck by a bullet in the right hand. Whether he was taking part in the fight, or whether he was merely watching it as a newspaper Correspondent, none now can say. All that is certain is that he was taken prisoner by the Papal troops, and conveyed to Rome, first to a temporary hospital, and then to that of St. Agatha. There he suffered terrible agony, feeling, to use his own words, as if his hand "were filled with burning coals." At length gangrene set in. An operation was performed, but in vain. On the 27th of December, 1867, he died, and two days later he was buried in the Protestant cemetery; a few friends, chiefly the ladies who had visited at the hospital, and had treated him with the greatest kindness, attending his coffin to the grave, and strewing on it "red and white flowers, with green leaves—the national colours of Italy." A little later came the young wife to whom he had been but a short time married, in time only to see the place in which he had been laid. And thus, in about his twenty-sixth year, died a man from whom much was justly expected, and by whom, had his head and heart been but a little cooler, much would in all probability have been done.

MALVINA.*

THOUGH *Malvina* is about the lightest and frothiest specimen of the thing called light literature with which we are acquainted, yet it is such a brightly coloured piece of froth, and whipped up into so pretty and amusing a shape, that even a severe critic could scarcely be hard upon it; unless, indeed, he chanced to be one of the dyspeptic kind who would break a butterfly on the wheel, and find a moral purpose in his occupation. There is scarcely a page of common-sense everyday life in it from beginning to end, and the whole action of the plot is simply as absurd as a fairy tale or a melodrama; nevertheless, the sparkle and good-humour with which the book is written atone for these defects; though even here we have to object that the sparkle is at times a little pumped-up and at others bordering on affectation, if the good-humour is genuine. Broader than genteel comedy, *Malvina* is more refined than true farce. It is a kind of compromise between the two, where impossible situations and ridiculous incidents are told with a certain grace of manner, a certain prettiness of surrounding, which redeems them from anything approaching vulgarity. Indeed, the story is eminently dramatic in its construction, and if the inevitable padding were taken away, would naturally fall into acts and tableaux which would explain themselves. The whole thing might be told as well in a ballad as in a novel; and *Sophie* as *l'ingénue*, in a white frock and green sash, snowdrop fashion, and all her fair hair floating about her shoulders; with *Malvina* as *la diablesse*, in black, gold, and crimson, with two coquettish little horns peeping up from her cluster of dark curls; could execute their various *pas* of timidity, love, fascination, triumph, revenge, what not, which would express quite as much as the dialogue reported.

In his two female characters Mr. Sutherland Edwards has happily escaped two not insignificant dangers. It would have been very easy to make *Sophie* weak and vapid, *Malvina* exaggerated and repulsive; as it is, the one is as little sickly in her innocent sweetness as the other is coarse in her unprincipled fastness and bold revenge; though the types are well marked and preserved throughout. Of the two, perhaps *Malvina* is the less satisfactory. In avoiding anything like tragic intensity, Mr. Edwards has sailed a little too near the shallows of insufficiency; for there scarcely seems stuff enough in *Malvina's* nature to carry her over the perilous rapids where he takes her; and we think that he might have deepened his colouring without going beyond the bounds of naturalness and general harmony. The introduction of the hero to the heroine is original. *Sophie*, or, as she is always called, *Sophie Arnold*, is a young *pensionnaire* of the Augustine convent at St. Ouen. She has a cousin, one George Thornton, in India, to whom she has been engaged, in a measure, for the last six years, ever since the ripe age of thirteen. One day she hears that her cousin from India is waiting for her in the parlour of the convent, whither she is despatched to receive him. He is her *fiancé*, be it remembered, as well as her cousin, and she has not seen him for six years. "Pale, and trembling with emotion, *Sophie* opened the door, rushed towards him, threw her arms round his neck, and kissed him as she had never kissed any one before." The young man was too well bred not to respond to such a greeting. "He kissed her without affectation; naturally, sincerely, and above all passionately." But in a few moments she found out her mistake. He was not the cousin at all; he was only his friend, Mr. Leighton, sent by him to return into *Sophie's* own hands all her girlish love-letters, accompanied by one from himself announcing his marriage out in India, "in sober reality," and leaving his girl-cousin *planteé* and heart-broken. At least she supposed herself heart-broken; but she could not concentrate all her attention on that mournful fact;

for her grief at the loss of her lover was divided with angry despair at the mistake she had made with Mr. Leighton, whereby she had kissed and been kissed by an envoy who ought not to have so much as touched her hand. And as she had always vowed to herself never to kiss any man but the one she should marry, to what a state of things had not this unlucky and precipitate embrace reduced her! The kiss which so distracted *Sophie* with shame and indignation distracted Alfred Leighton also, in a different way. As *Sophie* was a very pretty girl, and as her kisses had been of an unmistakably fervid character, and as, presumably, Alfred Leighton was, after the manner of men, more susceptible to the charms of his fair countrywomen immediately after his return from India than he would have otherwise been, the consequence was that he fell madly in love with the pretty schoolgirl in her snowdrop costume, and that he in turn vowed to himself he would marry her if only he could make her love him as he loved her. And he did not despair. As indeed he had no cause; for *l'ingénue* proved a "quick study," and full of the graceful tenderness of forgiveness; and when they met a second time Alfred felt that he was pardoned, and on the third interview loved. After which naturally come obstacles and complications, caused by a disreputable old scamp, the divine *Sophie's* father, who is living on the interest of her fortune, and to whose advantage, therefore, it is that his daughter shall either not marry at all, or shall marry a man so wealthy that he will not demand her dowry. Or, a third way, seeing that he has insured her life for a sum equal to her inheritance, that she shall die.

If the first meeting of the hero and heroine is original and unlikely, so was a previous episode in the life of the hero. He is the son of a country physician of good family and in good practice, who in his turn is the cousin of both a baronet and a colonel, with other high-standing relatives living in the neighbourhood of Hillsborough, where he, Dr. Leighton, took his fees and drove his carriage. But because he was plucked at an examination for the India Civil Service, to which career his father had destined him *bongré malgré*, the irate physician apprenticed him off-hand to Mr. Gribble, one of the most respectable linen-drapers in the town of Hillsborough, and the father of *Malvina*. Now *Malvina*, the daughter, was pretty, half-educated, and a whole flirt. She had the run of the seventy or eighty young men in her father's establishment, and she went through them, using her eyes on them as if they were mere whetstones on which to sharpen her tools, but committing herself to none. Her dream was to marry a gentleman, and she liked Alfred Leighton. And Alfred liked her; but he committed himself as little to her as she committed herself to the seventy or eighty adoring downstairs. They had a very tender flirtation to be sure, and a great deal of kissing went on, and *Malvina* put all her arts in requisition, and even played a bold stroke at the theatre; but she lost the game notwithstanding, and Alfred went off to India, having passed successfully in a second trial, without having married the linen-draper's daughter, or even offered to do so. Meanwhile, in his absence, she went abroad with her mother, and found at Vichy a certain Russian Prince Karabassoff, whom she married, and forthwith became Madame la Princesse Karabassoff, worth eighty thousand pounds at the least. But she had lost her husband when she returned to Hillsborough for a few days to astonish the natives with her beauty, her magnificence, her good taste, and her wealth; Gibbs, her former admirer and the present proprietor of the establishment, standing at the door of the old place which had once been her home with his hat off.

Among the disreputable colonies of self-expatriated blacklegs, rowdies, swindlers, and worse, to be met with abroad, the English colony at St. Ouen seems to have been the worst. There was not an honest man among them; and even the two clergymen attached to the community vied with each other who should offend public morality with the greatest freedom and the most impunity. But among them all, Dr. Rowden shone conspicuous for his unpromising boldness of resources, and his cynical deliverance from conscientious scruples. And he it was who played the part of tempter to the not unwilling father of *Sophie*. We have seen that her life was heavily insured; if he could but "make her dead," the inexorable wolf who kept up a perpetual patrol before the doors of those worthy gentlemen would be starved off for a time; and with men who live on their wits, time is everything. Accordingly, after Alfred's proposals have been ignominiously repulsed, and Mr. Arnold has carried away his child in a fine fit of parental indignation, and carried her away no one knows where, we hear of poor *Sophie's* death; and though name, date, and place are all correctly given, though Alfred Leighton nearly dies of grief, and visits the dear grave twice, we and the astute reader generally know quite well that the poor little girl is no more dead than the maiden of the fairy tale, or than Juliet in the vault, and that she will come to life again when wanted, as surely as the snowdrop will flower in the spring. Meanwhile *Malvina* meets her old flame Alfred once more; and the rest of the book is taken up by a description of the arts she employs to catch him, so that the woman of twenty-four shall avenge the girl of eighteen. We will tell nothing of this part of the story, nor how the pit dug for another is fallen into by the digger.

Perhaps we owe Mr. Edwards an apology for having told so much of his story, but unless we had extracted a few isolated scenes, there is no other way in which we could review this book. Of character it has little or none, other than the simple elementary characters of the stage. Alfred is only a first walking-gentleman, who falls in love at sight, fights a duel, is wounded, and danger-

* *Malvina*. By H. Sutherland Edwards. 3 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1871.

ously tended by a designing woman who is cleverer than he, save at the last few pages; Mr. Arnold and all the St. Ouen group are mere swindlers of denser or lighter shades as may chance, and of well-known types; Karabassoff is a lay figure posed at discretion; the only personage among them all with any claim to originality is Malvina herself, and she mainly because of the author's self-control, or slightness of work, as we like to call it, by which she is not rendered monstrous or melodramatic. But neither is she in any sense a "study." She is a picture, an actress in the drama, a creation if you will, but not a dissection, not a psychological analysis. She flirts, intrigues, lies, pretends, deceives, and finally throws off the mask, but all in an objective, exogenous way, which makes a curious contrast to the ordinary work of novelists in the same direction, but which gives at the same time a certain sense of relief to readers a little sated with pretended analyses of character that are as much fancy-work as the plot itself. On the whole, though we cannot say that we highly admire Mr. Sutherland Edwards's work, we confess heartily that we have been amused by it. For light literature, emphatically light, it is pleasant and readable; it glides gracefully over dangerous points, and touches good-naturedly on weak places; it is not work of a high class, but it is good of its kind; and in saying this we give it such praise as we honestly can, but we do not condemn it for the absence of aims and qualities which it does not profess to have.

FRENCH LITERATURE.

THE Prussian war and the Communal revolution still supply the materials of most of the books which we receive from Paris publishers. M. Villetard's articles contributed to the *Journal des Débats*, and now reprinted in an interesting volume*, describe not so much the events connected with the late civil war as the origin of the famous International Association. The author explains the doctrines of Fourier, Saint-Simon, Cabet, and Louis Blanc, showing that, however Utopian the schemes proposed by these philosophers really were, they at least started from a sufficiently sound proposition. According to them, labour, capital, and talent are the three necessary elements of all enterprise; their successors, the men of the Commune, eliminate at one stroke two of these data, and endeavour to show that society can be reconstructed upon a basis which excludes both talent and capital. M. Villetard lays before us the formation of the "International"; he shows the efforts made unsuccessfully by the Bonapartist Government to win it over; he points out its means of action, and concludes by discussing the best way of stopping its progress. The withdrawal of Mr. Odger and Mr. Lucraft from the Central Committee seems to him a sign that persons who really have at heart the happiness of the working class have no faith in the "International." Its principal agents are supplied by the refuse of the *ouvriers*, whilst the chiefs are still worse; for at the very time when the most absolute power had been left in their hands through the pusillanimity of the *bourgeoisie*, their decrees inspired nothing but contempt. M. Villetard does not advocate repressive measures; he wishes to see an International Association of masters and capitalists, organized powerfully enough to meet the enemy on their own ground.

M. Louis Moland†, obliged to remain in Paris during the whole time of the siege, kept up, thanks to the balloons, an active correspondence with his friends in the provinces. His letters, varying in their style and character according to the persons to whom they were addressed, contained a chronicle of political events, some amusing remarks on the various members and agents of the *Gouvernement de la Défense nationale*, besides the usual gossip which forms the staple commodity of letters written without any view to publicity. After the end of the siege, however, all these despatches preserved by M. Moland's friends, except a few which never reached their destination, were thought to possess such real and permanent interest that their appearance in a volume was resolved upon; a few excisions sufficed to make the MS. fit for printing. The letters, ninety-two in number, are preceded by an introduction in which M. Moland gives his opinions about the defence of the capital. The word "heroism," he thinks, has been applied quite erroneously to it; everybody displayed the utmost goodwill; but that was all.

When he discourses on balloons‡ M. Gaston Tissandier assuredly deserves to be heard. He holds in France the same position that Mr. Glaisher does amongst us, and on the science of aeronautics he speaks with authority. The preface to the volume he has just published is full of interesting details on this subject. Whereas in a few years the application of steam to locomotive purposes and that of electricity to telegraphic communications have made the most rapid strides, why is it that aerial navigation is still in the conditions where Montgolfier left it, or very nearly so? M. Tissandier contends that all the objections raised by scientific men fall to the ground; he endeavours to inspire his readers with his own enthusiasm, and after having thus sounded the panegyric of balloon-travelling, he points to the services rendered by the Paris *aéroliers* as a proof that his encomiums are not exaggerated. His volume is

divided into three parts; he describes in the first place the attempts made to communicate from Paris with the departments; he then gives an account of the operations performed by the military aeronauts belonging to the army of the Loire; and, finally, he writes the history of the postal-balloons from the beginning to the end of the siege, including a description of the carrier-pigeons, the balloons employed, &c. His conclusion is that a body of military aeronauts should be immediately raised and properly trained, and that balloons should be provided for the purpose either of making observations during a campaign, or of throwing shells and other explosive substances in the midst of the enemy.

M. Francis Wey's *Chronique du siège de Paris** gives a very striking and lively picture of the French capital throughout the siege. The movements of the troops, the attitude of the population, the clubs, the newspapers, the cafés, and the salons, have supplied the author with facts and anecdotes which derive much of their piquant character from the contrasts they present. We see, on the one hand, the useless efforts of a brave army wretchedly officered; we watch, on the other, the steady development of the revolutionary spirit, in the face of a Government which lacks the energy necessary to punish those who set it at defiance. The startling finale played out by Messrs. Delescluze, Raoul Rigault, and their adherents was inevitable, as M. Francis Wey remarks. When a nation endeavours to discard all principles the better to establish public morality; when contempt for the law is made the test of liberalism; when authority is severed from respect, and power from discipline—then society is at the mercy of any gang of cut-throats who have energy enough to carry out their dreams of murder and pillage.

The volume written by M. Louis Jezierski† is a collection of newspaper articles, the great merit of which is that they give the impression of events which the author has really observed; it is his experience that he presents to us, and not the result of information gathered here and there without discrimination. The tone of hope and confidence in which the author expresses himself shows how exalted public opinion was in Paris during the siege. M. Jezierski is the same journalist to whom we are indebted for a very striking narrative of the terrible conflict which ended in the occupation of the capital of France by the troops from Versailles. He promises us a detailed account of the whole campaign.

M. Frédéric Damé‡ remarks that the time has not yet come to know exactly what amount of responsibility lies upon the different parties which contended for the government of Paris during the late civil war. The "Internationale," the Municipal Council of the metropolis, the Versailles Assembly, the National Guard, the army, have all been in turns accused; all have found eager advocates ready to prove that their special clients were right, whilst the others had not a single plea to bring forward. M. Damé takes up his position as champion of the Mayors of Paris, and he endeavours to show that they resisted as long and as energetically as they could against the ultra-Radicals who, from the heights of Belleville and Montmartre, so long kept a population of nearly two millions of men under a system of terror. His argument may be thus stated:—The insurrection of March 18 was the result of a premeditated plan, organized immediately after the downfall of the Empire by a few bold and needy adventurers, who only waited for an opportunity of carrying out their scheme of destruction. Such being the case, the Government should have taken the proper steps to defeat a conspiracy the leaders of which were perfectly known; and, by failing to do so, they are in a great measure responsible for the disasters of last spring. Amongst the National Guard, those sections which included the *bourgeoisie*, the friends of order, either displayed no energy, or were too badly officered to prove of any use; and thus, from the very beginning of the movement, the men whose watchword was the Commune remained masters of the situation. Without attempting to vindicate the "Internationale," M. Frédéric Damé is inclined to believe that its share in the revolution has not been so important as some critics would assert, and he is of opinion that M. Tolain, himself a member of the association, will triumphantly clear it from all sympathy with the Commune.

The title *Barbares et Bandits*§, which M. Paul de Saint-Victor has given to his volume, shows pretty well in what style it is written. The Prussians and the Communists are the *dramatis personæ*; but unfortunately the author describes them with that ridiculous fondness for metaphorical language which spoils all his books. He is constantly aiming at effect, and the sensational sketches scattered throughout his volume are sometimes positively ridiculous. We see that each chapter is a *feuilleton*, and that each *feuilleton* must be a hit. Baron Stoffel is compared to John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness; and M. de Saint-Victor pledges himself to show that Mephistopheles has come into this world under the features of Prince Bismarck. Written during the siege of Paris and the subsequent triumph of the *sans-culottes*, the various articles collected in this duodecimo contain many narratives which have only an indirect reference either to the Prussians or to M. Pascal Grousset. Thus we have a chapter on Prosper Mérimée, and one on the painter Henri Regnault.

* *Histoire de l'Internationale*. Par Edmond Villetard. Paris: Garnier frères.

† *Par ballon monté; lettres envoyées de Paris pendant le siège*. Par Louis Moland. Paris: Garnier frères.

‡ *En ballon pendant le siège de Paris*. Par Gaston Tissandier. Paris: Dentu.

* *Chronique du siège de Paris*. Par Francis Wey. Paris and London: Hachette & Co.

† *Combats et batailles du siège de Paris*. Par Louis Jezierski. Paris: Garnier frères.

‡ *La Résistance; les maires, les députés de Paris et le Comité central*. Par Frédéric Damé. Paris: Lamerre.

§ *Barbares et Bandits*. Par Paul de Saint-Victor. Paris: Lévy.

M. Édouard Fournier takes in alphabetical order* the provinces through which the Prussians marched and which they occupied; he enumerates all the acts of cruelty, of plunder, and of violence said to have been committed by them; he gives a long list of their iniquities, and concludes by saying that the burning of St. Cloud and the sacking of Compiègne will mark the first stage of the French army on its way to Potsdam and Berlin.

Dreams of revenge are all very well, but before the soldiers of Bazaine are fit to take the field with any chance of success they must be thoroughly reorganized; the officers, especially, and the commissariat require complete reform. Let the reader study attentively on this subject the excellent volume published by "E. J.," *ancien élève de l'école Polytechnique*†, and let him see whether France is not at this very moment on the point of ignoring, in a fit of misplaced enthusiasm, the heavy task of military reconstruction to which it should apply itself right earnestly. The gallant manner in which the Versailles troops stamped out the revolution of Paris has led many persons to forget the disasters of Sedan and Gravelotte; and, as our anonymous author remarks, one can see here and there, appearing in public and making capital out of the pluck of the soldiers, the very officers whose incapacity rendered completely useless the undoubted courage of the men under their command. The volume before us is a sequel to General Deligny's *brochure*, which it develops and illustrates; it describes the campaign of the Rhine, and shows how unprepared Napoleon III. was to carry on the war into which he had dragged the nation. The author draws from the narrative of events a conclusion which reaches far beyond merely strategical details. The political collapse of France is, no doubt, the result of the Empire; but, after all, a nation always has the Government which it deserves, and it is France's own fault if for twenty years the supreme power has been wielded by adventurers and *chevaliers d'industrie*. Proudhon, who certainly cannot be accused of holding conservative ideas, noticed long ago that since the Revolution the work of moral dissolution has been advancing in the most frightful degree on the other side of the Channel; a vigorous effort alone, systematically made by all classes of society, can retrieve the past and secure a brighter future.

General Bordone's attempt to rehabilitate Garibaldi's military character whilst in command of the army of the Vosges‡, and M. Delaunay's *Histoire de la campagne de France*§, are *mémoires à consulter* which future historians will have to study when they sit down to write an impartial account of the eventful year 1870. The heroic soldier whose defence of Strasburg is one of the most interesting episodes of the war has found a spirited apologist in Baron du Casse. The journal of the siege, simply related, appeared first in the *Moniteur de Tours*, and comes now before us in the shape of a *brochure*||. It contains two letters from General Ulrich and two maps. M. Gustave Isambert describes the engagement which took place on the 10th of October between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Châteaudun, supported by the *francs-tireurs* of Paris, Nantes, and Cannes.¶

George Sand's *Journal d'un Voyageur pendant la guerre*** is particularly curious, because it shows that she has modified to a considerable extent some of the wild opinions she entertained thirty years ago. Although still a Republican, she does not believe any longer in the infallibility of the people, and she tells her old friends the *ouvriers* a few truths which are considerably more sensible than the *flagorneries* contained in the famous *Lettres au Peuple* which she published after the downfall of Louis-Philippe.

A residence of several months in Austria has enabled M. Daniel Lévy†† to study in some detail the political state of that country, the causes of its present decay, and the best means it has of passing successfully through the crisis which is now visiting it. The situation, M. Lévy remarks, is a serious, if not a desperate, one, and it deserves all the more the attention of French politicians because the peace of the Continent is likely to be materially affected if, through its internal divisions, Austria should be effaced as an independent Power from the map of Europe. It is evidently the interest of France that Southern Germany should be powerful enough to counterbalance the twofold influence of Russia and of Prussia. M. Lévy believes, moreover, that in Germany itself France is always sure to find deep and lasting sympathies; philosophy, science, and true liberalism will, he thinks, prevail in the long run against the ambitious and military subjects of Prince Bismarck. Such, briefly, is the conclusion of an interesting volume, where the reader will obtain a great deal of useful knowledge on the history of Austria since the foundation of the Empire.

If we turn now to the scientific publications which have lately

been issued on the other side of the Channel, we shall find a few works of a really important character; and, first, let us name Dr. Legrand du Saulle's volume, *Du délire des Persécutés*.* Amongst the various forms of madness it is evident that a conspicuous place must be assigned to a class which includes a yearly average of five hundred victims in Paris alone. The investigation made by Dr. du Saulle possesses peculiar interest at the present time, when the terrible excitement created by the war and the siege has affected in an unusual degree the cerebral organs of a whole political community, and thrown off its hinges many a mind naturally weak and disposed to hypochondria. Our author begins by describing minutely the various signs of mental aberration; he then shows how the disease develops itself, and the numerous cases adduced by him lead to highly suggestive observations of a medico-legal character. The facts enumerated in this volume are the result of notes taken at the Préfecture de Police, the lunatic asylum of Bicêtre, and also in the course of a long private practice either by Dr. Legrand du Saulle himself, or by his confrère Dr. Lassègue. An appendix of nearly forty pages is devoted to an inquiry into the mental state of the Paris population during the events of 1870-71. Our author endeavours to combat the generally received idea that political aberrations tell in a very marked manner upon the number and intensity of cases of madness; according to him, this opinion is essentially erroneous; great social perturbations produce no disastrous effect on the intellectual faculties of a nation, because they only last for a short time. The only persons whom these perturbations transform into lunatics are, he says, men under the influence of false theories which had taken possession of all their powers long before some political upheaving had dealt a fatal blow at their understandings. In like manner, he deems it absurd to suppose that certain serious cases of neuropathy have been cured in the most complete and unlooked-for way, by the same social causes acting to produce a kind of salutary crisis. Civil war and its horrors may, and often do, stimulate into energy persons who had previously lived merely for their own pleasure; but such cases cannot be classed under the head of those where lunacy is directly and undoubtedly observable.

M. Ad. Quételet's name is so well known to all scientific students that any work from his pen is sure to obtain attention. On the present occasion† he examines the laws which preside over the development of the human body, and shows how these laws affect the intellectual and moral state of mankind. A certain standard of proportion is universally considered necessary for the harmony of the various parts of our frame; what is that standard? how has it been determined in antiquity and in modern times? Such is the question discussed by M. Quételet in the second part of his book. Here, of course, we tread upon æsthetic ground, and the systems of the most eminent artists, such as Praxiteles, Vitruvius, Leonardo da Vinci, Raffaele, Flaxman, &c., are quoted. The third section treats of the average growth of the principal parts of the human body, and of the causes which affect this growth; the facts here collected by M. Quételet are almost innumerable, and they represent a long course of careful observation. The next point to determine is the law according to which physical development takes place; it can, he contends, be expressed by a geometrical curve. Finally, after having thus stated and explained the principles of what he calls the science of *Anthropométrie*, M. Quételet shows to what extent these principles affect the moral condition of our race. A number of statistical tables and engravings illustrate very fully the data and theories analysed in this interesting volume.

Dr. Durand de Gros has devoted an octavo‡ to the defence of Darwinism. He criticizes incidentally Professor Agassiz and other savants who, adopting what he calls the notion of a vulgar monothéism, stop, as he believes, the progress of scientific investigation. He fancies that he has found a middle course between these men and the champions of Atheism. According to him, there is in the world neither God nor Chance, but a kind of supreme and universal *Logos*, connecting together all facts by a chain, every link of which is the necessary consequence of the previous one, and the no less necessary introduction to the following. The extravagant pretension to sacrifice psychology to physiology, and to treat ontological questions from a point of view which does not allow of their being accurately discussed, characterizes another small *brochure* of the same author, published in M. Baillière's *Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine*§.

There has long been a controversy going on in this country about the style of books which should be placed in the hands of learners of the French language. Many teachers maintain that a preference must be given to the classical authors, and that Boileau, Racine, Corneille, Molière, Bossuet, &c., are the only proper models to be held up for imitation. On the other hand, it is asserted by several persons well qualified to pass an opinion on the subject that to know the French of the present day is the great object which pupils should have in view, and that the true models are Balzac, Victor Hugo, Erckmann-Chatrian, and Edmond About. It is curious to see, at all events, how much less precise we are in our

* *Du délire des Persécutés*. Par le docteur Legrand du Saulle. Paris: Plon.

† *Anthropométrie, ou mesure des différentes facultés de l'homme*. Par A. Quételet. Brussels: Muquardt.

‡ *Des Origines animales de l'homme*. Par le docteur Durand de Gros. Paris: Baillière.

§ *Ontologie et Psychologie physiologique; études critiques*. Par le docteur Durand de Gros. Paris: Baillière.

* *Les Prussiens chez nous*. Par Édouard Fournier. Paris: Dentu.
† *Les Vaincus de Metz*. Par E. J., ancien élève de l'école Polytechnique. Paris: Lacroix.

‡ *Garibaldi et l'armée des Vosges*. Par le général Bordone. Paris: Lacroix.

§ *Histoire de la campagne de France*. Par Ferdinand Delaunay. Paris: Lacroix.

|| *Journal authentique du siège de Strasbourg*. Par le baron du Casse. Paris: Lacroix.

¶ *Combat et incendie de Châteaudun*. Par Gustave Isambert. Paris: Lacroix.

** *Journal d'un Voyageur pendant la guerre*. Par George Sand. Paris: Lévy.

†† *L'Autriche-Hongrie, ses institutions et ses nationalités*. Par D. Lévy. Paris: Didier.

notions on this side of the Channel than our neighbours; the idea of using as a reading-book in French schools *Le Conscrit*, selections from *Les Misérables*, or *Eugénie Grandet*, would make all the members of the Conseil de l'Instruction publique start with horror, and exclaim that the abomination of desolation has indeed come at last. With the view of satisfying both classes of pupils and teachers, Messrs. Hachette have published*, first, a series of the most popular masterpieces of the great dramatic authors of *le grand siècle*; and, secondly, the first two instalments of a collection of French "Readers," the materials of which are borrowed from contemporary authors. Four plays of Corneille, six of Racine, and six of Molière, annotated by gentlemen well known as French teachers, are now before us. Each play is preceded by a short introduction of a biographical and literary character, and followed by notes chiefly confined to the explanation of grammatical and idiomatic difficulties. The "Readers" are respectively intended for pupils between the ages of ten and fifteen †, and for students who have already made some progress in the language. The former consists of short extracts, chiefly taken from living writers, and followed by a vocabulary; the latter ‡ gives us specimens of Edmond About's best novelettes—namely, *La Fille du chanoine*, some extracts from *Trente et Quarante*, a chapter from *Le Roi des montagnes*, and the amusing tale, *La Mère de la marquise*. In this volume, instead of a vocabulary, we have some useful notes of a miscellaneous character, and a short but sufficient biographical sketch of M. About serves by way of introduction.

Works of fiction recently published do not suggest any special remark, and we cannot see yet any sign of improvement either in the tone or the style of those which have reached us. George Sand's *Césarine Diétrich* § gives the old story of questionable liaisons, leading to the misery of the persons concerned in them. M. Louis Enault's *Les Perles noires* ¶ is perfectly harmless so far as morality goes, but it is sensational enough to satisfy the most uncompromising lover of melodramatic horrors. Madlle. Fleuriot deals also with exciting episodes ¶; but they are those of the Prussian invasion, and they are worked together into a very readable story.

* *Hachette's French Classics; chefs-d'œuvre of Molière, Corneille, and Racine.* Edited by Messrs. Tarver, Ragon, Brette, Bué, Roche, Masson.

† *Hachette's First French Reader.* Edited by the Rev. E. Brette and M. Gustave Masson.

‡ *Hachette's French Reader.* Vol. i.: Edmond About. Edited by the Rev. E. Brette and M. Gustave Masson.

§ *Césarine Diétrich.* Par George Sand. Paris: Lévy.

¶ *Les Perles noires.* Par Louis Enault. Paris and London: Hachette & Co.

¶ *Une Parisienne sous la foudre.* Par Madlle. Zénaïde Fleuriot. Paris: Plon.

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ADVERTISEMENTS.

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SATURDAY (November 4).—SATURDAY CONCERT, at 3.

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